Fryer Iohn Frauncis of Nigeon *in Fraunce*.

A Replication to that lewde aunſwere, which Fryer Iohn Frauncis (of the *Minimes Order in Nigeon nigh vnto Paris in* Fraunce) hath made to a Letter, that his Mother cauſed to be written, and ſent to him out *of England, in Auguſt.* 1585. *Wherevnto is annexed* an aunſwere, to that which the ſame Fryer hath written to his father and mother: in defence, and to the prayſe of that Religion, which he dooth nowe profeſſe: and to the diſprayſe and defacing of that Religion, which is nowe profeſſed in Englande. Whereof the Fryer himſelfe was a Scholler and profeſſor, vntill the yeere 1583. which was the 18. yeere of hys age.

(˙.˙)

Written by Robert Crowley.

Anno. 1586.

AT LONDON.

Printed by Iohn Charlewoode, dwelling in Barbican, at the ſigne of the halfe Eagle and the Key.

To all ſuch Gentlemen,

as beeing Engliſh borne, haue Romyſh *hartes, and doo fauoure the Romiſh Ca-*

tholicke Religion: and eſpecially, ſuch amongſt them as doo inhabite in the Counties of *Suſſex and Hampshyre, and about London.*

Wſhing well to the Common weale of my natiue Country, and to the Churche of Chriſt in this our Engliſh nation. I haue in my younger daies taken ſome paynes, & haue bœne at ſome charges (and yet am) in the education of ſome ſuch young Schollers, as haue ſeémed to bé likely to prœue profitable members, in this Church, or Common weale of Englande. Amongſt whome, one Samuell Debnam was one. Hys Father and Mother are yet lyuing, and doo by theyr honeſt labor ſuſtayne theyr owne bodies, and according to theyr hability, they doo help to releéue the impotent and neédy. This Samuell was theyr eldeſt and firſt borne Sonne, and their hope was that he ſhould haue bœne the ſtaffe of their age. And becauſe the mother was my ſeruaunt in the time of her virginity, my wyfe became Godmother to that young babe, and (as the cuſtome of the Church is) vndertooke for him at the Fountaine of Regeneration: which mœued both her and méé to haue (together with his naturall Parents) an eſpeciall care for his good education. Hee proſpered in learning, and was like in time, to haue prœued a profitable member of the Engliſhe Common weale. yea ſome gifts that he had receiued from God, ſeémed to be ſomewhat rare in one of hys yéeres: and that did puffe him vp and make him proude. I did then beginne to feare, that which is nowe come to paſſe. For (as Syrach hath written Chap. 10,) Initium ſuperbiæ hominis, apoſtatare a Deo: quoniam ab eo qui fecit illum, receſſit cor eius. The beginning of mans pride, is to fall away from GOD: for his hart is departed from him that hath made him. This pryde was it that cauſed him to harken to ſuch amongſt you, as firſt enticed him to forſake his Parents, and other freéndes, in ſo vndutiful manner as he did, on Monday. which was the eyght day of Apryll. 1583. In aunſwering Letters that his Mother cauſed to bee written to him the 28. day of Auguſt, 1585. Hée wryteth that he was lodged not farre from London, the ſame night that he ſtept away from hys Father and her: and ſhortly after

ly after, hée was (as he sayth) conueyghed by night, a myle of from London, where hée staied three weekes. And on May day in the morning, early, hée was sette on horsebacke, and conueighed into Suffex, and so into Hampshyre, where he had maintenaunce tyll the Euen of S. James the Apostle. &c. At his departing from London, good Gentlemen (as he termeth them) gaue him money, to the value of forty or fyftie shillinges, to bring him ouer the Seas. By these thinges it appeareth manifestly, howe vnkrendly you popysh Gentlemen are, to the Crowne and Common weale of Englande. Can you worke any greater displeasure, to the Crowne & Common weale of England: then to robbe them both of the younge frye, that is, likely to bée the continuance of this, and the beginning of the next generation? This youth, being about the age of eighténe yeeres, was méete to bée implyed to that kinde of life, wherin he might haue béene moste like to dw best seruice to God, his Prince and his native Countrey. But sée what you haue done. You haue caused him to be reconciled to the Romish Catholicke Churche, which is to bée a sworne enemy, to the Crowne and Common weale of this his, and your native Country. You haue robbed our Prince of her Subiect, and seruice that she might and ought to haue had of him, as of one borne with in her dominions. You haue robbed a poore father and mother of theyr sonne and onely childe: the staffe of theyr age, theyr greatest treasure in this world, theyr onely hope of posterity, and of that gyft of God, which by natural Order hath béene most pleasaunt and delectable to them, and should haue béene most profitable. You haue robbed mée, and the rest that haue taken paynes, and haue bestowed of our goods vpon him, in the nourishing and bringing of him vp, to that estate wherein you found him: and in making him able to doo some seruice in the Common weale of our Country: you haue (I say) robbed vs of all this, & of that hope which wée had to sée him a profitable member of the Church of Christ in England. you haue robbed hym of that benefit, which a naturall English man, may, and ought to enioye within the English dominions. yea, & as much as in you may bée: you haue robbed him of that inheritaunce, which Christ Jesus hath bought for him, for you haue perswaded him, that not Christ Jesus, but the Romish Antichrist, is the way that leadeth into that inheritance. you haue taught him to leaue the study of the scriptures, and not to looke vppon, or to giue credite vnto those writtinges, that men of sounde iudgement haue left behinde them, concerning the true interpretation of the scriptures, but to beléeue all that the Rompish Catholicke Church beléeueth, holdeth, and teacheth: although he dw neither knowe what the beléefe of that Church is, neither howe it may bée warrented or defended by the scriptures, when it is knowne yea, although it dw surpasse and excell mans vnderstanding: yet it muste be beléeued, onely because the Rompish Catholicke Church doth beléeue it. Saynt Peter was of an other minde, when he wrote thus: Dominum Christũ sanctificate in cordibus vestris, parati semper ad satisfactionem omni poscenti vos rationem, de ea quæ in vobis est spe. Sanctify the Lord Christ in your harts bëing alwayes prepared, to satisfy euery one that shall aske you a reason of that hope that is in you. 1. Pet. 3.

Our sauiour Christ sayde, Scrutamini Scripturas, Search the scriptures,

Iohn. 5.

Iohn.5. yea, and talking with two of his Diſciples in the way toward Emaus he prooued the neceſſity of his death and reſurrection, by the ſcriptures. Luk. 24. The Iewes which dwelt in Barrhæa, ſearched the ſcriptures daily, to ſée if that were true that the Apoſtles preached. Acts, 17. But you haue taught, this proſelite of yours, to beléeue all that the Romiſhe Catholicke Church teacheth: although the ſame bée directly contrary to the ſcriptures. As to make and worſhip Images, to call vppon Angels and ſaints, to repoſe truſt in the worthines of his owne workes, to make himſelfe a Mediator in ſuffering for the ſinnes of his Parents and Country men, to haue an opinion of holines, in refrayning the vſe of Gods good creatures, which are all holy, and to be receiued with thankes to God for the vſe of them, to kiſſe and worſhippe the Reliques of ſaynts, to beléeue the reall preſence of Chriſtes bodie in the Sacrament of the Altare, to make that Sacrament a ſacrifice propitiatorie for the ſinnes of the quicke and the deade. &c. To conclude, if the Romyſh Catholicke Church doo teach it, he muſt beléeue it, although both reaſon and ſcripture doo denye it. Into this miſerable blindnes, you haue (by your allurements and perſwaſions) brought many youthes, that myght, and were like to haue done, good ſeruice to God and theyr Prince, in theyr native Countrey. you haue cauſed them to ſhake of, all duetifull obedience to God, to theyr Country, to theyr Prince, to theyr parents, and to all that haue bene theyr fosterers and bringers vp, in learning, and in religious exerciſes. you haue plunged them into the puddle of all poppyſh ſuperſtition, and counterfayted religion. you haue ſtolen them from our Captaine Chriſt, and made them ſouldiours to fyght againſt Chriſt, vnder the banner of that Antichriſt of Rome. Thus your proſelite hath reported, in the diſcourſe of hys peregrination: that he was in Rhemes in Fraunce, 17. monthes together in company with two hundreth Engliſh men (almoſt) & lacked nothing: which argueth, that ſome good portion of your patrimony, is ſpent in the maintenaunce of ſuch Engliſh youthes, as you haue conueighed thether, and to other places beyond the Seas.

I wyll charge you no further. Take héede to your ſelues in time. Conſider that there is a God, that ſéeth your doinges, and knoweth your intents. He wil not ſuffer ſuch doings vnpuniſhed for euer. If you think that the religion that is now allowed of in this Realme, by law, be not Catholicke, ſéeke your reſolution at the hands of ſuch as are learned in the tongues, in the liberal artes, in the writings of auncient fathers, and in the ſcriptures, and are your Countrymen, & occupied in the ſeruice of God, & this our cõmon country. Such are able, and wilbe ready to conferre with you, and by their knowledge in the ſcriptures, Doctors, artes and tongues, to ſatiſfy you: and vndoubtedly, if you wyll humbly craue it of God, ye ſhall bee ſatiſfyed. Remember your duetye towardes G O D, your ducty towardes your prince, your ducty towardes your Country and Countrymen.

Repent, purpoſe and endeuoure to amend that which you haue done amiſſe. Helpe to bring home againe, ſuch as by your meanes haue bene occaſioned to ſtray from Chriſtes fold in this our native ſoyle. As you haue bene meanes to drawe them from Chriſt: ſo vſe what meanes you can, to bring thē backe againe to Chriſtes folde in Englande. If they ſhall perriſh in that ſchiſme,

whereinto you haue brought them (as vndoubtedly they shall, if they shall ende in it,) theyr blood shalbe required at your handes. When your Seminary men tell you, that we are the Schismaticks, and they the Catholicks, beleeue them not, except they proue it, by Scriptures and probable reasons. If we do proue, both by the Scriptures and by probable reasons, that the Church of England is Catholick, and the Romysh Church schismaticall: why should not you beleeue vs? Because they do knowe, that if you shall reade our writtinges, you must needes yelde to the truth, which you shal see substantially proued by vs: they put you in feare of cursting or excommunication, if you shall reade any thing that is written by any of vs, or if you shall giue attentiue heede to any Sermons made by vs, which argueth that themselues doo knowe, that the trueth is on our sides. You are Gentlemen, and by naturall and ciuile order, you are Free men: suffer not your selues to be ledde and commaunded (as blinde and bonde men) by these dolysh hypocrites, which teach you to submit your selues to the decrees, precepts, and doctrines of men (which haue but a vaine shewe of wysedome) and not to regarde the wisedome of God, contained and taught in the holye Scriptures Coloss. 2. Your calling and estate in the Common weale of this Realme is worshipfull, and your duety is to be ayding to your Prince, in the execution of the Lawes made for the preseruation of the state, and defence of the liberty of this English nation: and wyll you bee the ring leaders in the violating of those good Lawes, in subuerting the state, and in turning the liberty into thraldome and bondage? God forbidde. Our good God in hys good time, vsed our noble King Henry the eyght (as his meane) by whome hee deliuered this noble and free kingdom, from the Babilonicall bondage of Rome: and wyll you bring your selues and the whole English nation, into the like bondage againe? The same our mercifull GOD, hath by the same Noble Prince, and by his Sonne Edwarde and Elizabeth his daughter, restored to this English nation, the bright shyning light of the Gospell, and wyll you bring vppon your selues and vpon vs, and vpon all our posterity, the palpable Egyptian darknes of Ignorance, the mother, nurse, and continuall fosterer of all errour and wicked life? God forbidde. You are English men, God giue you English harts, that may neuer yelde to bee gouerned by forraine power. You be christian men: God giue you christian hartes, that may neuer yelde to professe Antichristian Religion. Suffer not your selfe to be blinded by their colours of antiquity, vniuersality, and vnifformity. For when theyr antiquity is compared with ours, it is found to be but of yesterdayes hatching: where ours is proued to haue had continuaunce from the time of the first man. Their vniuersalitye was neuer so large as the Romaine Monarchie: but ours, hath alwayes beene, and styll is, and euer shalbe, as large as the whole worlde. Theyr vnifformity, is deuided, themselues do scarsly knowe into howe many seuerall sects, whereof not any two can be founde that do agree in all poynts: but we being but one body and one spirit, are called in one hope of our calling, one Lorde, one faith, one Baptisme: One God and father of all, which is aboue all, throughout all thinges, and in vs all. Ephe. 4. I pray you vouchsafe to reade with indifferent iudg-

ment

ment, that which I haue written in my Replication and answere, to that which Fryer John Frauncis of Nigeon in Fraunce, hath written to hys Father and Mother. And as he hath admonished in the margine of his letter, no lesse then seauentéene times, Reade it thorough, or beginne it not: euen so haue I sette at the heade of euery page, Reade all: or reade nothing. I haue set down the Fryers wordes euen as he wrote them, and as I haue them to shewe, in that Letter which he wrote with his owne hand, not altering or leauing out, or adding (to my knowledge) one worde, sillable or letter. If any amongst the learned Romish Catholickes, shall vouchsafe to reade that which I haue written: and shall thinke himselfe able to disproue that which I haue doone: let the same deale with me as I haue dealt with Fryer John, and I hope I shalbe able so to reproue his disproofe so, ẏ he shall (in the end) wysh hée had let my wrytings passe without disproofe. For Fryer John hath so quickened mine aged spirits, that I séeme to my selfe, able to trye thys matter by wryting, euen with the stoutest Champion that the Pope hath. And if Fryer John, or any of his Fraternitie, (yea if it bee the Pope Sixtus quintus himselfe, which as I heare, was a Franciscane Fryer) shalbe able to proue by Scriptures and probable reasons, that the Romysh Relygion (which nowe is professed in Rome) is Catholicke, and that the Religion nowe professed in Englande is schismaticall: then wyll I créepe into a Minimes wéede in Nigeon, and whyppe my selfe with a discipline, as Fryer John doth nowe whyppe himselfe there. Otherwise, if any shall enterprise to disproue my wrytinges, and shall not doo it substantially, to my disproofe indéede: I wyll doo what I shall be able to doo, in helping him to some whipping chéere in our Bridewell, if euer hee may be caught in Englande.

Fare you well, from my house without Creplegate of London, the syxt of August. Anno Domini. 1586.

Your welwiller, Robert
Crowley, Clarke.

Reade all: or Reade nothing.

Crovvley.

WHen your mother shewed mée your Letters of the xvii. of March last past: I did call to minde that which I had tolde her, more then three months before you departed from her. Which was, that I salwe in you such signes of Arrogancie, that I thought you to bee a méete stocke to graffe a Papist vpon. In reading of those your Letters, I perceiued that I was not deceiued in that my coniecture. This spirite of Arrogancie beginneth to shewe it selfe, euen in the beginning of those your Letters: for you disdaine to vse those duetifull spéeches, that naturall children ought to vse, when they wryte to their naturall Parents. You séeme to be perswaded, that you abase your selfe enough (yea ouermuch) to write thus to such Parents as they be.

The Fryar.

Welbeloued Father and mother, after my harty commendations which I haue vnto you, these are to certify you, that I haue receiued your Letter, dated the xviii. of August.

Crovvley. If you had written to the meanest amongst them that haue béen your playfellowes, you must either haue passed ỳ bounds of ciuill honestie, or els haue vsed as reuerent spéeches as these be. But did your Arrogant spirit suffer you to stay héere? no. For your Parents are so vile in your sight, and in comparison of your selfe, that you must needes write thus.

The Fryar.

Were your Prayers any thing worth, I would thanke you: for

that you pray vnto God to blesse me, and to endue me with the grace of his holy spirit, as also to lighten my hart, to the ende that I may vnderstand the troth. Were (as I saide before) your prayers any thing worth, I would thanke you hartily for these your wishinges: but alas, they being such as they seeme to bee, scarsly can I keepe my selfe from teares.

Crowley. If Lucifer himselfe (who is noted to be the father of pryde) shold haue writtē to his damme, could he haue vsed wordes of greater Arrogancie? You haue forgotten (I thinke) that commandement of God, which you did once knowe, & did acknowledge before a great congregation of Christians in my Church at Crepiegate. Honour thy father & thy mother &c. You remember not the saying of Syrache, in his 3. Chap. *Qui timet dominum, honorat parentes: et quasi dominis seruiet his qui se genuerunt.* He that feareth the Lord, dooth honour his Parents, and doth seruice to them that begat him, euen as though they were his Lordes. And againe, *Quam malæ famæ est, qui derelinquet Patrem: & est maledictus a Deo, qui exasperat matrē.* How euill a report hath he, that forsaketh his Father: And he that vexeth his mother, is accursed of God. Yea, and in the same Chapter he saith, euen immediatlie after those wordes that I haue cited before, *In opere, et sermone, et omni patientia honora patrem tuum &c.* Honour thy father in dēde and in spēche, and in all patience, that blessing from God may come vpon thee &c. The Fathers blessing doth establish the houses of the Children, but the mothers curse doth rote out the foundations thereof. Yea, and Salomon saith in the 15. of his Prouerbs *Stultus irridet disciplinam patris sui. &c.* The foolish man doth deride the discipline of his father &c. And againe: *Stultus homo despicit matrem suam.* The foolishe man despiseth his mother. These sayings written in the Scriptures, were farre out of your minde, both when you harkened to those Counsellers that first aduised you, to leaue your father and mother in such sorte as you haue done, and euer since (as may be gathered by that which you haue written in your Letters directed to them) but I coniecture, that you will staie your selfe vpon the wordes of our Sauiour Christ, written by the Euangelist Math. 19. *Qui reliquerit domum, vel fratres, aut sorores, aut Patrem, aut matrem, aut vxorem, aut filios, aut agros propter nomen meum: centuplum accipiet, & vitam æternam possidebit.* Who so shall forsake house, or brethren or sisters, or father, or mother, or wyfe,

wife, or childe, or frends for my name sake, shall receiue an hundreth folde, and possesse life euerlasting. But will you knowe what Chrysostome writeth vpon this place? *Qui perdit animam suam propter me, inueniet eam: non vt nosmetipsos interimamus, neq; vt animam nostram violenter a corpore disiungamus: sed vt religionis pietatem, cæteris omnibus anteferamus. Ita de vxore quoq;, ac fratribus intelligendum est.* Who so loseth his owne life for me, shall finde it: not that we should kill our selues, neither that we should violentlie seperate our owne soule from our bodie, but that we should preferre the godlines of Religion before all the rest. Euen so must we vnderstande that which is spoken of the wife and brethren. Now, if those words of our Sauiour, written by S. Mathew do not enforce you to kyll your selfe, why shoulde they cause you to leaue your father and your mother, in such sort as you haue done, the staffe of whose age you should haue bene, if you had bene carefull to do as once you confessed in my Church, that by Gods law you are bound to do. That is, to loue, honour, and succour your father and mother, to obey them and serue them, to feare and reuerence them, not onely in word and deede, but in your hart and minde also. To followe their precepts and examples of life, & patientlie to take correction at their handes, and to make continuall and hartie praiers to God for them. To relieue and nourish them, in case they should fal into pouerty or decay. And in all points by shewing your selfe an obedient and good child, to moue them to be louing and good to you. All this you confessed in my Church before many witnesses, which shall in the day of iudgment be a testimonie against you, to condemne you of wilfull Apostacie, and a witnes to discharge your father and mother, (and all others that haue had the education of you) of all maner negligence, in instructing you in the knowledge of your duety, both towards God, and towards man. So that if you perish, your blood shalbe vpon your owne head alone. You procede in your answere, and thus you say.

The Fryar.

You write furthermore vnto me, that you haue made great enquirie after me. I know it well. I was in feare great enough by reason of that enquirie, as long as I was in Englande, although (that God be thanked) I haue, though hardly, escaped your handes.

Crowley. In these wordes you make knowne to as many as shall reade this your answer, both the dutiful care that your good parents

had to preserue you (their wicked sonne) from destruction bothe of body and soule: and also your owne wilfull determination, to casse your selfe headlong into that Gulfe of perdition, that you are nowe fallen into. Yea, and that you are of that number that Esay ỳ Prophet bewayleth, when he writeth thus in the 5. chap, *Væ qui dicitis malum bonum, & bonum malum: ponentes tenebras lucem, & lucem tenebras, ponentes amarum in dulce, & dulce in amarum*. Alas for them that call euill good, and good euill. Affirming darknes to be light, and light to be darknesse, turning sower into swæte, and swæte into sower. The bright shining light of the knowledge of ỳ truth, which doth nowe shine in Englad, you call the darknes of ignorance and errour: and the hellike darknes of Poperie, wherein you do nowe wander, groping after the way of Saluation, you call light, shewing your selfe to be one of them that are noted by our English Prouerbe. They that be in hell, do perswade themselues, that there is none other heauen. Moreouer you say thus.

The Fryar.

You heard that I was at Rhemes: it is verie certaine, I was there, the reason also wherefore I writt not vnto you, was partly the scarsitie of messengers, and partlie other thinges, which here I can not well rehearse. Againe, I could not write vnto you conueniently, because I doubted whether you were aliue or dead.

Crowley. The report of your bæing at Rhemes, you say was true, which argueth ỳ it was rather ỳ lacke of good wyl in you, to comfort your sorrowfull parents by your duetifull Letters, then the lacke of messengers that stayed your penne. What the other lets were, which hære you can not well rehearse: I hope you will tell vs at some other time more conuenient, and when it shall not bee so daungerous for you, as nowe it is. And bæing by these Letters (that you confesse you haue receiued) certifyed that your Parents are lyuing, that doubt that you spake of can no longer bee any let at all. Proceæding in your answere, you say thus.

The Fryar.

You write againe vnto mee, that all my freendes are in good health, to tell you the troth, I knowe not any one freende amongst you.

Crowley. Bona verba queso. Good sir, be good to Watkin. What not any one frænde amongst vs all? There are many yet liuing, ỳ haue

bæne

bene your frends I am sure of it. As your father, your mother, my selfe, my wife (your Godmother) Master Moncaster, sometime your Schoolemaster, Master Fielde, Master Doctor Fulke, master Paule Swallow, and many moe that were your *Mecænates* in Cambridge: and howe happeneth it, that all these be nowe blotted out of your Cataloge of frends? By all likelihode, all the benefites ỹ haue bene bestowed vpon you, haue bene written in duste and not in Marble. Your Grandmother, that being your mothers mydwyfe, lapped you in the first swadling clowts that euer you beppyssed, and did vnto you all the office of a mydwyfe: was she not your frende: your mother that yet liueth, and during the time of your infancie, gaue you sucke of her owne breste, and fedde you with fode meete for you, when sometimes she spared it out of her owne bodie, was she not then your frende? when she continued your Nurse, and did vnto you all that is to be done by a Nurse, and when by your wraling and crying you had gotten a Rupture in the nether part of your belly, she sought and procured meanes to ease and remedy the same, by trusses and otherwise, was she not then your frende? I coulde put you in minde of much more frendship shewed vnto you, by vs a boue named, and by many moe, but all is buried in oblivion so deepe that it is not possible that the same canbe digged vp againe, in such sort that you can be moued to acknowledge the same. Your newe Frendes are so setled in your conceyte, that all the olde are blotted out of memorie for euer. You regarde not the Counsell of Syrach who wryteth thus, Cap. 9. *Ne derelinquas amicum antiquum, nouus enim non erit similis illi.* Forsake not an olde frend, for the newe wyll not be like him &c. Well, you procéede in your answere, and thus you say.

The Fryar.

As for my brother *Aaron*, I beseeche our Lord & sauior Iesus Christ by the merits of his bitter death and passion, to haue mercy vpon his soule, as also vpon yours, and to saue you all at the day of iudgement.

Crowley. I dw like well of this your charitable wisshe: and dw wisshe the like saluation to you, and to all the rest of your newe frends. But now you dw vse a spéech by the figure Apostrophe. And thus you wryte in the margine of your Letters.

The

The Fryar.

Brother *Aaron*, leaue the Religion wherein you were at my departure from you : and if that you can by anie meanes come on this side the seas, come to Paris in Fraunce, and aske after the *Minimes* Fryers at *Nigeon*, so shall you finde me. If that you come to me, leaue your naughty Religion, & care for no more. And counsell also my father and mother, to do as you do (or as I hope wyll doo.)

Crowley. This godlie counsel that you giue to your brother Aaron, and do wish that he should giue ȳ same to your father and mother, will not (I hope) be followed in haste. That Religion that you call naughtie, and will your Brother Aaron to leaue : shall (I hope) be proued in this my discourse, the right Religion of Christe, and your Romaine Religion, meere *Antichristian*. Now to put your mother out of doubt, that you are her sonne Sammuell in deede, you wryte thus.

The Fryar.

And forasmuch as you haue written to me, that you will not giue credite to word of mouth, or to written Letters, except that I write your name (being my mother) and the place of my birth, let these suffice to set your hart at rest. I was borne (as you haue tolde me) in Essex, brought vp and nourished (in heresye) in London, or in the suburbs. Your name is *Catharine Maipeston*, by reason of mariage, you are called *Catherine Debnam*. I had a brother named *Nathanaell* (as you told me) and he is dead being an infant. *Moses* and *Tobias* are also dead, with both my sisters *Abigael*, & *Christian*, (vpon whose soules Christ Iesus haue mercy.) *Aaron* was a liue whē I departed from you, vnto whom, as also vnto you my mother & to my father *John Debnam*, I beseeche Christ giue life euerlasting. Thus much for the answere of that Letter which you sent me, writteen (as I thinke) by Master Kings man the Scriuener.

Crowley. The carefull hart of your mother, desired certaine knowledge of the case of her fugitiue son: supposing it had not beene possible for a nie natural son, being a liue, in anie part of ȳ known world, to hide himselfe so long from so louing a mother as she hath beene to you : and therefore she wished to be certified in such sorte, as nowe she is by these your Letters. But sir, the consideration of duety towards your mother, should haue moued you to haue vsed more duetifull

tifull ſpæches then you haue done in this parte of your aunſwere. Set your hart at reſt, ſauoureth of contempt of that perſonne that you write vnto (whom God commandeth you to honour) and of an obſtinate purpoſe and determination, neuer to haue anie ſuch regard vnto her, as chriſtian children ought to haue vnto their Parents, ſo long as they ſhall be in this tranſitorie life. It ſæmeth to me that you haue forgotten all that you learned in the Schole of Chriſt, and haue learned a newe leſſon in the Phariſaicall Schoole at Rhemes: that is (as it maie be thought) to ſhake of all curteſye, both in ſpæche and behauiour towards Parents, and curriſhly to anſwere *Corban*. Mark. 7. You were borne in Eſſex: but will you know by what occaſion? Your father and mother dwelt then in the ſuburbs of London: but the houſe that they then had, was not furniſhed with things needefull for a woman in the trauell of childe, and therefore your Grandmother being a Mydwife, toke your mother home to her houſe at Waltam in Eſſex. And ý as I ſuppoſe by Gods prouidence, that the babe that then was borne, might rightly be termed an Eſſex Calfe, and that our Engliſh Prouerbiall ſpæche might rightlie be applied vnto him (As wyſe as Waltams Calfe that ranne nine miles to ſucke a Bull.) You heard tell of the Popes Bull that Felton fyred to the Biſhop of Londons gates, and like a Waltams Calfe you ranne to Rhemes, and (by your owne confeſſion) would haue runne to Rome, if you had not bæne letted, by I knowe not what meane, but by Gods prouidence I am aſſured, that your follie might the more eaſilie bee made knowne vnto vs out of Fraunce, and that you may in ſhorter ſpace, and with leſſe daunger returne to England againe, when God ſhall open your eyes, and let you ſee, howe vnwiſelie and like a Waltams Calfe you haue dealt. You were brought vp and nouriſhed you ſay, in Hereſie, in London, or in the Suburbs thereof. As touching this hereſie, that you ſay you were brought vp and nouriſhed in: I ſay with S. Paule Acts. 24. *Confiteor autem hoc tibi, quod ſecundum ſectam quam dicunt hæreſim, ſic deſeruio patrio Deo meo: credens omnibus quæ in lege & Prophetis ſcripta ſunt, ſpem habens in Deum, quam et hy ipſi expectant, reſurrectionem futuram, iuſtorum & iniquorum. In hoc & ipſe ſtudeo, ſine offendiculo, conſcientiam habere ad Deum, & ad homines ſemper.* I confeſſe this vnto you, that according to that ſect which men call hereſie, I do humbly ſerue the God of my fathers: beleeuing all that is written in

the Law and the Prophets: hauing hope in God, which hope euen they themselues doo looke for, that a resurrection shalbe, bothe of the iust and of the wicked. And herein I my selfe doo endeuoure, to haue alwaies a conscience, both towards God, and towards men. This is that heresie that you were brought vp and nourished in, in London, and in the Suburbs therof. But I pray you (good master Fryer Iohn) was S. Paule an Heretick? Are your father and mother Heretickes? Was Robert Smith, that first taught you to knowe Letters (and is nowe gone to God) an Heretike? Am I an Heretike that first taught you to knowe the Rules of Grammer, and taught you and fedde you at mine owne charges, more then seauen yeres first and last? Are all our Rulers, and wee of the English nation Heretikes, and our whole kingdome hereticall, because we refuse to fall downe with you, and worship the purple whore of Rome, that rideth vpon the Rose coloured beaste? When God shall make your greene witt ryper, and your fleeting iudgment deeper, I hope you wyll recant that rash saying of yours. I was brought vp and nourished in heresie. Your mothers Surre name before mariage, you mistake, for she was not daughter to Maipestqn but to Myllis, and is now by marriage called Catherine Debnam. Your brethren and sisters, were as you haue written: and are all departed thys lyfe, sauing onely Aaron. And as many as know you, haue iust cause to wysh, that as you were the first borne, so you had beene the first buried. But God hath otherwise appointed it? we doo therefore refer all to his will, being well assured that the ende shall be to his glory, although (we feare) to your euerlasting confusion. But what meane you to craue mercy for the soules of your brethren and sisters departed? doo you thinke that God tooke them out of this miserable life so spedilie, that he might cast them into your holy father the Popes scalding house, which you call Purgatorie? Did you neuer reade the wordes written in the 3. Chap. of Wisedome, *Iustorum animæ in manu Dei sunt: et non tanget illos tormentum mortis.* The soules of the righteous are in the hand of God, and the torment of death shall not touch them. Againe in the fourth Chap. *Iustus autem si morte præoccupatus fuerit: in refrigerio erit.* If the iust person shall be preuented by death, he shalbe in a place of refreshing. And againe in the same Chap. *Raptus est, ne malicia mutaret intellectum eius: aut ne fictio deciperet animam illius.* He was taken away violently, leaste mallice should

should change his vnderstanding, or least counterfeited holines shold deceiue his soule. If you will consider well, those sayings of ỹ wyse man, you shall haue cause to thinke, that your brethren and sisters departed, are not in such case now, that they should stand in nede of greater mercy, then Christ Iesus hath already shewed vnto them. But more of this: when I shall come to speake of these wordes of yours. You say that we are foles to pray for the deade. Your Brother Aaron (you say) was liuing at that time when you did so vnduetifullie depart from your mother (but he is nowe dead) to whom as to your Father and mother, you beseeche Christ to giue life euerlasting. A good and charitable petition. I wysh the same to you, and to all others whatsoeuer: knowing that none can haue euerlasting life, otherwise then by Gods free gyft, thorowe Iesus Christ our Lord. But your selfe and men of your sorte, may not acknowledge anie such free gyft, for that you do (by your often and long prayers, your holines and austerity of life, and your continuall fastinges, and often scourging of your selues with your holie whyppes) deserue this life euerlasting, both for your selues and for others. So that you are become sauiours of your selues, & of as many as do (or will) beleeue as you do, & teache others to beleeue. And thus you conclude your answer to the Letter which your mother sent you, written (as you think) by Master Kings man, the Scriuner. As touching ỹ writer of that Letter, your coniecture is right. You proceede and say.

Fryar. I am now to certify you, of my state, welfare, & abyding, & how I am likely to liue. First of al therfore, I beseech Iesus Christ giue you the grace of his holie spirit, vnto the intẽt, that this which I write, may be to his honor, to your cõuersiõ, & your souls health.

Crowley. Wee shall nowe bee certified of your estate, welfare &c. You beseeche Iesus Christe to giue the grace of his holye spirit to your mother &c. I hope she hath already receiued so large a measure of that holy spirite, ỹ whatsoeuer you haue, or shall write, shall not be able to remoue her from that foundation whereon shee is builded: which is the Rocke Christ, & that notwithstanding anie assaults that you can make, she shall remaine still setled vppon that Rocke, to her soules health. And that your writings and mine together, shalbe to the honor of Christ Iesus, either in your returning againe from your *Apostacie*, or els in your vtter confusion.

Nowe you enter into your discourse concerning your departing,

your trauell and dangers, that you endured and escaped, before you were brought to this blessed rest wherein you nowe remaine: the manner and holines of the life that you leade there, and haue vowed and so purpose to leade, so long as GOD shall giue you life vppon earth. Last of all, you vse an earnest, and (as you think) a pithie Oration, to moue your mother to be at defiance with that Religion that she nowe holdeth, and with all the teachers thereof: As Crowley, and the rest: to burne her Bookes of Sermons, to vse the English Bible no more, to goe no more to the Sermons of Protestants, but to praie to our blessed Ladie, and to hang her faith vpon her son Samuels sleeue. And thus your discourse beginneth.

The Fryar. My departure from you, was vpon the Monday (as I remember) after Lowe Sundaie, in the after noone. That night I was lodged, not farre from London. Two or three nights after that, I went by night a mile from London. The Saterday before that I departed from you, I went to shrift, (as wee call it in Englande) or in other words, I was at confession, in a place, where I confessed my sins to a Priest, who gaue me absolution & penaunce. The Mondaie after that, I departed from you, vnder pretence of the Hebrewe Lesson, which the mischieuous Hereticke *Barber* taught me: The Fridaie after that, I went by night a mile from London, where I remained in great feare, the space of two or three weekes. There I heard the first masse that euer I hearde.

Crowley. Concerning the time of your departing from your mother, your going to shrift the Saterdaie before, your lodging so nighe London for the space of two or three nights after your departing, your going by night a mile of from London, your tarrying there for the space of three weekes in great feare, and hearing the first masse that euer you hearde the Fridaie after you were gon from your mother, I must passe ouer, as matter more to be mused at, then to bee entreated of in this my discourse. But this seemeth something straunge to me, that your ghostlie father would absolue you before he had giuen you penance. By like he was some vnskilfull penitancer, or els you being yet but a Nouice in Popery, haue vsed the Figure Hysteron Proteron in making the report. I perceiue that I my selfe, was at your age a much more skilfull Papist then you bee, and was much more able to defende Popery then you are, or are like to bee. In poore Contrition and confession goe before satisfaction,

and

and both muſt be voluntarie, full and vnfained, and then the ghoſtly father, & the ghoſtly childe muſt agrée vpon penance. For no Popiſhe ghoſtly father, will or may enioyne his ghoſtlie childe, any other or greater penance, then himſelf will acknowledge ỹ he is contented to take and to do. And this ſéemeth to me yet more ſtrange, that hauing confeſſed your ſinnes, and receiued abſolution and penance, & béing reconſiled on the Saterdaie, you could be partaker of our Communion, on the next daie, in companie of your mother, whoſe prayers (as you haue ſaid before) are nothing worthy, becauſe ſhée is not of that ſocietie that you were by that ghoſtlie father receiued into.

Haue Papiſtes nowe ſuch a priuiledge, that they may *ſimulare & diſſimulare*: counterfait and diſſemble at their pleaſure? Chriſt hath ſaid thus. Whoſoeuer ſhall denie me before men, I will deny him before my heauenlie father, and before all his holie Angelles. You haue not therefore taken vp your Croſſe to followe Chriſt (as you ſéeme to be perſwaded that you haue done) but you haue diſſembled with Chriſt and Chriſtians, that you might with leſſe daunger of bodie ſlippe from them, and followe Antichriſt. If I might talke with you mouth to mouth, I would deſire to know of you, what manner of ſinnes they were that you confeſſed to that Prieſte your ghoſtlie Father. I ſuppoſe they were not the ſtubburneſſes & points of diſobedience that you from time to time haue vſed in all your behauiour towards your father and mother, and all other your Gouernors and betters. Neither can I thinke, that they were the ſubtill ſleights that you haue vſed, in deceiuing your father and mother, me, and your Godmother my wife, & others your Tutors, freends, and fellowes, or the falſe lyes that you haue made, and ſtoutlie faced out, when due proofe of that which you had done coulde not be made. You know what I meane. If you were preſent, I woulde be more plaine and plentifull in ſpéeches, then in writing I doo thinke it méete to bée. To be briefe, I can not thinke that you confeſſed the tranſgreſſion of anie one of the Commaundements of God. But that you had béene at the Sermons of the proteſtant Preachers, and had heard them, and taken the notes of them, and had framed your ſelfe in ſome points to follow them, although in very déede but verie little. Yea, and that you had not holden & defended to the vttermoſt of your power, the Romiſh Catholike Religion, but had willinglie heard and read, and ſometimes your ſelfe vttered, vnreue-

rent ſpæches both by woꝛd and by wꝛiting, to the derogation of that high dignitie of your moſt holie Father the Popes holines, Gods Uicar vpon earth, and the vniuerſall head of the vniuerſall Catholique Church of Chꝛiſt. Yea and in derogation of that holye Oꝛder that you your ſelfe do now pꝛofeſſe. If I had bæne with you when you made that confeſſion of your ſinnes. I coulde haue put you in mind of that Engliſh Enterlude that you wꝛote, whē you laſt dwelt in my houſe, wherein you appointed my little kinſman to play one pꝛrte in the habite of a Fryer, with this ſpæche. *Deus hic, Deus hic*, and God be hære, is not this an holie ſpæch foꝛ a Fryer? You confeſſed I thinke, that you neuer toke aſhes on Aſhewenſday, noꝛ beare Palme on Palme Sondaie, noꝛ crept to the croſſe on good Fridaie, noꝛ faſted on the Ember daies, noꝛ on anie ſaints vigill, noꝛ yet on anie Friday in the whole yære. But I feare mee you did foꝛget that blaſphemy that in your foꝛenamed Enterlude, in that part that you appointed foꝛ your fellowe John Goughe, in theſe woꝛdes, to be ſpoken in the perſon of the mother of Chꝛiſt, in the derogation of the Popes doings, in that he toke vppon him to alter the Calender of the yære. The woꝛds are theſe.

What meaneth this foliſh man to pꝛate?
Nowe ſurelie I maruaile much.
What doth him cauſe this wiſe to chat,
As though there were none ſuch?
As he himſelfe thꝛoughout the woꝛld,
Vpon him ſo doth take:
As though that he the heauens and earth,
And eke the ſea did make.
Yee changeth my bꝛyth day,
And wyll my child bed rule at his will:
Which he ſhall neuer bꝛing to paſſe,
Whilſt woꝛld remaineth ſtyll.

If you did in your ſhꝛift foꝛget theſe woꝛdes of blaſphemy, bꝛeathed out againſt your holie father, the Popes holines: your confeſſion that you then made was vnperfecte, and ſo all that then was done, not woꝛth a dꝛye Walnut. Yea and although you did not foꝛget to confeſſe it, yet if the Pꝛieſt your ghoſtlie Father, that gaue

you

you absolution, had not a more large Commission, then commonlie your holie father vseth to giue to such single soled sir Johns as they be, which in these daies come from Rome, he hadde no power to absolue you for so horrible a sinne, committed against your holie Fathers owne persoune, his triple crowne and dignitie. No remedie you must to Rome, for that absolution that you haue already receiued, is not worth the leanest Lowse, that euer crawled in the cowle of a Franciscan Fryer. But to let these things passe, till you and I shall meete together againe, I would gladly knowe wherein you can note Barber to be so mischieuous an heretick. Is it because hee taught you a Lesson of the Hebrewe tongue? or was it because hee did it *gratis*, and toke no reward of your father for his paines taken therein. Surely his meaning was good to you wardes, and that reward that you render vnto him nowe, sauoureth of too too great ingratitude. A vice that all honest men doo abhorre. But let this passe also, till Master Barber & you may come to talke together. I doubt not but you shall then finde him more friendlie to you, then by those words written by you, you haue deserued. I meruaile howe you could stay your laughter, when you sawe the iestures and behauiours that the priest vsed in the first masse that euer you heard. Dyd you not laugh in your sleeue, to see an olde fooley or a young boy (for I knowe not of what age the Priest that said the masse was) play with a white round cake, as a young Catte vseth to play with a Mouse that is more then halfe dead? Dyd you not smyle wythin your selfe to see him in his Players garments, and to vse his turnes and halfe turnes, his winckings, his starings, his liftinges and his layings downe, and in the ende the eating vp, and his slouenly supping vp of all himselfe, and blessing such as were present with the emptie Cup? Or if he did vouchsafe to make you Communicants with him: did you not marke howe hee gaue you Wine, ouer which he had vsed no words of coniuration (or as they doo terme it) consecration, as he had done ouer the other Wine which hee had lifted ouer his head, and supped vp himselfe? If none of all these thinges could cause you to laugh or smyle, then vndoubtedlie you had loste that accident which the Logicians call *Proprium hominis*, An accident proper to man, to be apt to laugh or smyle. But let vs see now what you did on May day, next after your departing from your mother.

The Fryar. From thence I departed vpon May day, earely in the morning on horbacke toward Suſſex. I was in Suſſex and Hampſhire three monthes. Good Gentlemen gaue mee, when I departed from London, fortie or fyftie ſhillings to come ouer Seas. The danger was ſo great, and the examinations at the Sea ſhore ſo ſtraight, that I knewe not what to doo. Againe, other letts I had, that I could not take ſhipping, vntill the ende of Iulie welnere. All this whyle (I thanke God) I wanted nothing: neither apparrell, meate nor drinke, nor money. Vpon S. Iames euen, I tooke ſhipping at mydnight, with a Gentleman, a good Catholicke, or as you would terme him, a Papiſt, I being a Papiſt with him. So we two Papiſtes tooke ſhipping at Arundell Hauen in Suſſex, to goe to Rome. We were in great hazard of our liues vpon the Seas, from Sunday night, vntill wedneſday afternoone. At what time wee arriued bothe in Fraunce, at Diepe in Normandie. From Diepe wee came to Roane in Normandie, where I ſtayed a fortnight. After that I came to Paris, (the cheefeſt Cittie in Fraunce) from thence to Rhemes, where I ſtayed a tweluemonth and aboue. So I trauelled in Fraunce, before I came to an abyding place, welnere foureſcore leagues: that is to ſay, eightſcore miles almoſt. Being at Rhemes, I went, (or at the leaſt I ſhould haue gone) euerie day to the morning maſſe. After which maſſe, our cuſtome was to breake our faſte, and after that to goe ſtudie. I was in the Engliſh Colledge at Rhemes, where wee were welnere two hundred Engliſh men. I liued there paſſing well, as concerning meate, drinke, and other neceſſities,

Crowley. By this diſcourſe of your peregrination, it appeareth, that Antichriſt hath his frendes amongſt Engliſh men, bothe in, and about London, and alſo abroade in other partes of ỹ Realme, and in Fraunce alſo. God Gentlemen you ſay, (you ſhoulde haue ſayd, villanous Traytors) gaue you money to come ouer the Seas. Other, (whether Gentlemen or Yeomen, you ſay not) ſette you on horſebacke on May day, earely in the morning, and ſo like mẽ that bare more good wyll to Antichriſt of Italie, then to Chriſt. and hys annointed Deputy in England: conueighed you into Suſſex, and Hampſhyre, where men of like fidelity towards God, ỹ our Prince and Countrey, miniſtred vnto you all thinges neceſſary, ſo that the young Romiſh traytor, and fugitiue lonne, that like a moſt rebellious Childe, had robbed his father and mother, of that helpe and cõ-

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fort, that both by the Lawe of God and of nature, all Parents should haue at the hands of their sonnes and daughters, is amongst them so maintained, that for the space almost of three monthes, hee lacketh neither meate, drinke, nor money. After all this, a Gentleman, a good Catholicke, a Papist (you say) with your selfe, a Papist also, (a payre of Italian Pygions) toke shypping on S. Iames euen at midnight &c. If the Queenes Maiesties Officers in Arundell, had borne so good wyll to her maiestie and Countrey as by oath and alegiance they should haue done, your good Catholike Gentleman and you should haue beene brought backe againe to London, and not haue beene in such hazarde of your liues at the Sea, as you say you were, from Sunday night, till wednesday after none. But God wyll be reuenged vpon such bribing Officers, as can loke thorow their fingers, and suffer such good Catholicke Gentlemen as you and your guyde were, to passe without examination, contrarie to their oathe and alegiance to their Prince and Countrey. Well, you escaped that hazarde of your liues, and arriued bothe in Fraunce, at Diepe, &c. Your trauell was great, from Diepe to Roane, from Roane to Paris, from Paris to Rhemes, where you staied twelue month and more &c. See how much wiser you be then Waltams Calfe, that ranne nine miles after a Bull to sucke him. You say, that you ran welnere fourscore leagues, that is almost eightscore myles. And what other cause had you, then such as may rightlie bee sayde to bee the desire to sucke a Bull? At Rhemes (you say) you were exceeding well, and lacked no necessities (you should haue sayde, necessaries) being accompanied with two hundreth Englishmen. welnie. There you did goe (or at the least should haue gone) to the morning masse euerie day. Here you giue me some occasion to call to minde that saying, *Cœlum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*. They that runne ouer the Sea, do not change their minde but the ayre. You haue alwayes loued your cowche so well, that you coulde not be the first that shoulde arise in the morning. And when you were in Cambridge, it was noted to be a great faulte in you, that you would oftentimes pretende sickenes, and the griefe of your Rupture, so that you could not aryse to the morning exercise, but to dinner you coulde come. So I must thinke, that though you did in Rhemes, sleepe out your morrow masse, yet you would not be found slacke at breakfast, or (at the least) at dinner. And this might bee some cause

that you were not so well liked of in the Colledge at Rhemes, for such as were studious there, must see that your running witt coulde not settle it selfe to any graue studie. And therefore it was your best way to depart thence, and to hide your selfe in a Fryers Cowle. I remember a speeche that Table players doo vse, when such a chaunce riseth on the dice that they can not play to any aduauntage, the partie, that did caste the chaunce vseth to saye, it is naught. The other that playeth with him vseth to answere thus, Then make a Fryer of it. This speeche was commonly vsed in Englande, when the Orders of Fryers were in as high estimation in Englande, as they are nowe in Fraunce. It did spring vp of that custome ỹ was then common amongst English men. as it is nowe in Fraunce and other Countreyes where the Orders of Friers be. An idle Lubber that wyll not endure any honest labour, wyll make shift to creepe into the habite of a Fryer, wherein he may loyter, and be fedde by the labour of other men, and by the sweat of other mens faces. Of this more shalbe sayd, when I haue occasion to write of your maner of entring into the profession of your S. Frauncis Order. You proceede in your discourse, and thus you say:

The Fryer. When I had for the space of sixteene or seuenteene monthes dwelt in Rhemes, I longed verie much to goe to Rome in Italie, to the English Colledge that our holy father, the Popes holines, maintained there, for the conuersion of our miserable Countrey. To Rome also I had gone, if God of his wonderfull grace and mercie, had not otherwise and in better sort prepared for me. In the meane season, I went to visite Churches, to heare masses, to kysse Saints Reliques, to pray to God for you and for our Countrey in Fryries, and Monasteries. I liked very well the Gray Fryers, the Augustine Fryars, the Blacke Fryers, otherwise called Carmelites, the white Fryers, and other sorts of Religion, as also the Charterhouse Monkes, the Blacke Monkes and others. Whilst that I dyd thus take pleasure in visiting Fryeries & Abbies, Nunneries & such other deuout places: it pleased God to touch my hard hart, and to mollifie it with the teares of deuotion. To be briefe, I toke in mind to leaue studie, and to forsake the life of a Scholler, which I ledde at the English Colledge, and to make my selfe a Fryer or a Monke, as others did. I sought therefore by all meanes possible, of mine owne free will, no man constrayning me, to leaue the worlde or worldlye

thinges,

thinges, and be a Religious man. I knewe not whether it were best for me to be a Charterhouse Monke, or a Minime Fryer. Which Fririe of Minimes, is an extreme straight kind of life, as afterward you shall heare.

Crowley. Your fickle witte appeareth still more and more. You were verie well (you say) in the Colledge at Rhemes: yet after seauentéene monthes aboade there, you longed verie much to goe to Rome in Italie, by like ỹ exercise of learning in Rhemes, was greater then your idle head could away with, and therefore you longed so greatlie to goe to Rome, in hope to finde a more idle life there. To goe from place to place, from Frierie to Frierie, from the Nunnes to the Munckes, to heare masse, and to kisse the Reliques of Saintes, was a iollye idle life. But I pray you, are you assured that the Reliques that you kissed were the Reliques of Saintes? When the Reliques that were in Churches in Englande, came into the hands of them that could and would consider them with indifferent eyes, I my selfe sawe one bone, that had a Label of parchment fastened to it, wherein was written, *Os sancti Bartholomei*, A bone of S. Bartholomew. But when this bone was wel viewed, it was found to be the shoulder bone of a young Pig, the broade and thinne part thereof beeing pared of with a knife, as did moste plainely appeare. In the Abbay of Hayles, a Relique was kept, which was said to be the blood of Christ, but when the Pyx (wherin it was kept) was opened, it was found to be a matter like very fine sande, or a liquid Gumme of a sanguine coloure. I my selfe (being then but young) did see and reade the Historye of the bringing of that supposed blood thether, which Historie was written in a Table fast by the entring into that Chappell where the Relique was kept. The historye was so doubtfull, that euen then I beganne to doubt of the trueth thereof. For in the Historye it was not plainelie affirmed to be a portion of the blode that issued out of the bodye of Christ, but either a portion of that blood, or els of blood that issueed out of a crucifix that was found in the house of a Iewe in Ierusalem, and set vp on the Mount of Caluerie in derision, into ỹ side whereof, blinde Longius, was caused to thrust his Speare, whereby great plenty of blode did issue, and was reserued by such as were presente. &c. The Nayles that fastened our Sauiour to the Crosse, were in number but three, and they came all to the handes

of Constantine the Emperour, by his mother Helena. He caused one of them to be wrought into the byt of his bryd'le, that hee should vse in the warres, another in the Crowne of his Helmet, to fasten his plume of Feathers in, and the third he caried allwayes about him, and being in daunger in a storme on the *Adrian* Sea, he cast it in to the Sea to stay the rage thereof. This is written by Romaine Catholikes, wherefore you must not denie it to be true. Now consider with your selfe, whether you haue beene borne in hande that you haue kissed any of those nayles or not. I could say something of our Ladies milke, her gloues, her smocke, her heayre, &c. Of the breade that was left at Christes last supper, of the Yse that was frozen in that night wherein he was borne &c. Well, whylst you were thus occupyed, your hard hart was mollified with the teares of deuotion. You should haue sayd, of superstition, & desire to leade a loyterers life. You determined to leaue ỹ life of a Scholer (which in verie deede you could neuer delight in) because you might not be idle in that kinde of life, and sought by all meanes possible to obtaine the habite of Religion, and at the last you obtained a *Minimes* habite.

The Fryar. I came (you say) from Rhemes to Paris, to aske the habite of a Religious man, from thence I returned (say you) to Rhemes. Whether after that I came, I was receiued with other two Englishmē into the Frierie, in which we stayed for the space of a moneth. After which terme, one of vs was receiued, the other two, whereof I was one, being sent to the English Colledge, there to stay till some other occasion might fall out. Three weekes beeing passed, I was sent to a Cittie in Loraine, called Verdun, eyght and forty miles distant from Rhemes. Since which my departure from the English Colledge, I sawe no more Rhemes. Beeing at Verdun, the Prouinciall of Lyons, (or as he may be called, after the termes of Religion, which in Catholicke time were vsed in England) the chiefe Pryor of Lyons, tooke me with him and paid my charges, from the foresayde Cittie of Verdun to Lyons in Fraunce, which are a hundred leagues, that is to say, two hundred miles. Being there arriued, after a fortnights ende, I was weeded with a Fryers weede. Then my soft linnen shyrts, were turned into rough wollen shyrts, my blacke Scholerlike garments, into a browne gowne, with large sleeues as the Gray Fryers haue. My

hatte

hatte was turned into a Fryers hood. So I being chaunged in garments, began also to change my life. I liued so at Lyons the space of twelue month a Nouice, to see if I could abide the hardnesse of life that was there necessarie to be abidden. At the twelue month ende, I liked well of all thinges, and the Fryers lyked well of me. So I made my profession, the sixt day of Ianuary, in the yeere of our Lord. 1586. two yeeres and a halfe after I departed frō you. I made as I say my profession, that is to say, I made a solemne vow or promise vnto God, to liue all the dayes of my life in this world a Fryer. And furthermore, I vowed chastitie, nere to haue wyfe, pouertie, to be poore, to haue nothing, not so much as the garments on my backe for mine owne. And also obedience, to be obedient to the Pryor, and to my superiors. The Order whereof I am, is called the Order of S. *Frauncis* of *Paula*. It was neuer yet in Englande, but we hope it shall shortly be. We are called *Minimes*, in french, *bone homes*, that is in English, good men, although we be not worthy of the name, (for no man is good, except God) yet by reason of our hardnes of life, and of the vertuous behauiour of our brethren we are so called.

Crowley. See howe intollerable trauell this Waltams Calfe endureth, in following after that Bull whom he desireth so greatly to sucke. He posteth from *Rhemes* to *Paris*, and to *Rhemes* againe, from thence to *Verdun* in *Loraine*, from thence to *Lyons* in France and there he was inuested or wæded as he termeth it, with a Fryers wæde, which he calleth the habite of a Religious man. Thys man hath forgotten that Christian men are Religious men, and that there is no Religion comparable to the Christian Religion. He doth not consider, that the rest which are called Religious are but superstitious, and not Religious in dæde. In that superstitious wæde he continueth twelue monthes: and then he made hys profession. He hath forgotten that profession that his Godfathers and his Godmother made in his name in ẏ Church of Waltā, and hee himselfe confirmed in the Parish Church of S. Gyles at Creplegate of London. He vowed then to liue a Christian, but nowe he hath vowed to liue a Fryer, that is to say, an hypocrite. He hath vowed he sayth, wyueles chastity, but let Fryer John Frauncis, beware of buggery. O Fryer John, remember the words of the Apostle, *Qui non continēt, nubant*, Let them that contayneth not, ma-

 rie,

rye, *Et melius est nubere quàm vri.* It is better to marye then to burne. 1.Co. 7. Consider the meaning of the Apostles wordes to the Ephesians 5. *Nolite communicare operibus infructuosis tenebrarũ, magis autem redarguite. Quæ enim in occulto fiunt ab ipsis, turpe est & dicere.* Haue nothing to dw with the vnprofitable works of darknes but rather rebuke them. For it is a filthy thing, euen to speake of those things or actions, that are wrought of thẽ in secret. Craue of God his holy spirite to direct you in ỹ right vnderstanding of these wordes, according to the councell of the Apostle S. Iames, Chap. 1. If any of you dw lacke wisedome, let him aske it of God, which giueth to all men indifferently &c. Yea, and consider the wordes of the Apostle Paule to the Romanes. Chap. 1. *Mutauerunt gloriam incorruptibilis Dei, in similitudinem corruptibilis hominis, & volucrum & quadrupedum & serpentium. Propter quod tradidit illos Deus in desideria cordis eorum, in immunditiam, vt contumelijs afficerent corpora sua in semetipsis: qui commutauerunt veritatem Dei in mendacium, et coluerunt et seruierunt creaturæ, potius quàm creatori, qui est benedictus in secula. Amen.* They haue turned the glorye of the incorruptible God. in to the similitude of a corruptible man, and of flying fowles, and of fourefoted beastes, and of crœping serpents. Wherefore God gaue them ouer vnto their owne harts desire, into vncleanneese, that they might defile their owne bodies, euen in thẽselues: which had chaunged the truth of God into a lye, and had worshipped and serued the creature, more then the creator, which is blessed for euer, Amen. Consider (I say) these words of the Apostle Paule, with the rest that follow. *Propterea tradidit illos Deus, in passiones ignominiæ. Nam fœminæ eorum, immutauerunt naturalem vsum, in eum vsum qui est contra naturam. Similiter autem & masculi, relicto naturali vsu fœminæ, exarserunt in desideryis suis in inuicem, masculi in masculos, turpitudinem operantes, & mercedem (quàm oportuit) erroris sui, in semetipsis recipientes &c.* Wherefore, God gaue them ouer to shamefull lustes. For theyr women chaunged theyr naturall vse into that which is contrary to nature. In like manner the men also, leauing the naturall vse of the woman, burned in their lustes or filthy desires, one towards an other, men with men wrought filthines, receiuing in themselues the reward of theyr error, which (in Gods iustice) was due vnto them. Consider (Samuell) I pray thee, euen in the tender bowels of Christ Iesus, in

whom

whom I dw yet loue thée, and do hope (by the helpe of his spirite) to winne thée to him againe. Consider I say, these wordes of the Apostle. And vndoubtedlie thou shalt see, that, that Romish Churche, which calleth herselfe Catholike, is herein plainly painted out. Haue they not chaunged, and dw they not still chaunge, the glory of the incorruptible God, into the similitude of a corruptible manne. When they haue set forth, and dw still set forth, the maiesty of God to the viewe of mans eye, by the Image of an olde man, made of Tymber, stone, or other matter, or wrought by ỹ cunning of Painters or Embrotherers? Doth not Esay the Prophet deride these dwings, both in the forty and in the foure & forty Chapters of hys booke? And doth not the Prophet Dauid deride thē in ỹ Psalme, 115. after the Hebrews account, but after your account 113. The auncient interpreters of the Scriptures, dw with one consent condemne the making and hauing of the Image of the diuine maiesty. And yet that Romish Catholike Church, dare still make it, haue it in their Churches, and fall downe before it. Hath not God in Exo. 20. Expressly forbidden the making and worshipping of all manner of Images? And howe dare any man make, or worshipp them, or say that, that Church is Christes Church, that doth both make thē, worship them, and persecute those Christians that refuse to doo as they dw? Waie well the words of the Apostle, when he sayth. That for this cause, (that is, for turning his glorye into the similitude of a corruptible man) God hath giuen them ouer to theyr owne harts desire. &c. Theyr women haue turned the naturall vse into ỹ which is contrary to nature: and the men hauing left the naturall vse of the woman (as you say you haue vowed to dw) haue burned in desire one towards an other, and men haue wrought filthines wyth men.

When GOD opened the hart of King Henry the eyght, and gaue him some sight of the truth, he caused the Monkes, the Fryers, and the Nunnes that then were in his Realme to bee examined, and by due and politike examination, they were found to haue done, euen as S. Paule writeth here. And when God shall open the eyes of that Noble Prince that nowe raigneth in Fraunce, or the eyes of some Noble Prince that hereafter shall haue the gouernment of that noble Realme of Fraunce, wherein you nowe liue, vndoubtedly, your secrete filthines will bee founde out, and

your hypocrits visoures will be plucked of your faces, & you coates of counterfeited holines, will be plucked of your backs, and you wyl be turned abroade into the worlde (as our Hypocrites were in the daies of our king Henrie) that you may learne to labour, and by your owne labour to eate your owne breade, and not to be fedde anie longer by the labours of other men. Thus much I haue thought méete to write, concerning the first part of your vowe, which is, to line in wyuelis chastity.

The second part of your vowe, is pouertie. To be poore, to haue nothing, not so much as the Garments on your back for your own. This part of your vowe, was altogether nédeles. For since you were borne, you neuer gaue your selfe to any such exercise, that you might be able thereby to haue anie thing of your owne. But you haue béene fedde and clothed, and in all points sustayned, by the labours of your poore father and mother, and other that haue hoped to sée a better proofe of you then nowe is séene, and therefore extended their frendlie liberalitie to you. But now you say you haue not one frend in all Englande, or at the least way, amongst vs that bare all the burden of your education and bringing vppe, euen vnto that time, wherein you did verie vnduetifully giue vs the slip, not once bidding vs farewell. They therefore that haue nowe caught you, do not knowe what a Jewell they shall haue of you, for it is like enough, that after they shall haue bestowed enough & too much vpon you, you will render vnto them such thankes as you haue rendred vnto vs. It shalbe good for them therefore in time to loke vppon, and to folow that Rule that S. Paule wyshed the Thessalonians to follow. 2. Thes. 3. *Si quis non vult operari, nec manducet.* If any man will not worke, let him not eate. But you will aunswere me and say: We do labour, for we rise euerie night at midnight, and we sing Mattins before the blessed Sacrament of the Alter, we arise againe at fiue of the clocke in the morning, and we sing two or three high masses euerie day. &c. But let me tell you what I haue heard reported concerning Frauncis, of whom the Gray Friers do holde. That Frauncis was (as the report goeth) a good man, and gaue himselfe to sore labour, in reparing of high waies that were decayed in the Countrey where he dwelt. And on a time as he was at his labour, a companie of tall fellowes that had beene théeues, and were condemned to be hanged, were by the Officers brought

brought that way towards the Gallowse to bee executed. When Frauncis salwe them, he was moued with pittie, and besought the Officers to stale the execution whilst hee might goe to the King, (who lay then not farre off) and begge their pardon, and so it was done. When Frauncis had obtained pardon for these men, hee clothed them in such apparell as the Gray Fryers do nowe weare, and girded those Garments to them, with the halters wherewyth they should haue beene hanged. The Garment is very commodious, for it is long and large, and may be tucked vp short, & let down to the sole, as occasion shall serue, and require for the commodity of the wearer of it. It hath a hoode that may hang on the backe, and not be any let in labour, and when neede is, it may couer and defend the head and face from the iniuries of the wether. These men being thus apparailed, fell to their labour lustily, & in short space, brought their maisters worke to such forwardnes, that hee thought meete to trauaile into some other part of the Countrey, to see where other decayed high wayes were, that he might keepe his newe men and himselfe in worke still. But to be briefe, he was from them so long, that they hauing finished the worke that he left them in, had gotten them a house in the next Towne, and had perswaded the people thereof, that by rysing at midnight, and making of continuall prayers vnto God for that people that shoulde feede and maintayne them without labour, they should be much more beneficiall to the Common weale, then they could be by any sore labour of their bodies in emending the high wayes that should be decaied. But when Frauncis came, and found them thus occupied, hee vtterly misliked with them, and sayd vnto them. Thence I found you, and thence I leaue you. And so departing from them, he would haue no more to do with them. If this be not true, then blame them that haue made this report of Frauncis, whom the Gray Fryers take for their Patron. If it be true, then you may see what beginning the Order of the Gray Friers had, and howe acceptable that rysing at midnight and singing of Mattens and masses was to that Frauncis, of whose holines the Gray Fryers do make so great bragges. And so by good consequence, what account good and wise men shold make of the great paines that you and your Brethren do take, in your rysing and singing both by day and by night. Whether thys Frauncis were your Frauncis of Paula or not, I leaue to be dis-

cussed by your selfe, with the helpe of the chiefe Pryor, or Provintiall of your Order, at your best leasure. Thus much for the second part of your vowe.

The third part of your vowe, or (as you doo terme it) your third vowe was obedience, to be obedient to the Pryor, and to your superiors. If you had considered well of that triple vowe that was made for you in Baptisme, and your selfe confirmed, when you answered me in my Church at Creplegate in London, I thinke you would haue thought this newe triple vowe, altogether vnnecessarie: except you meant to reuoke your first triple vowe made to GOD, and in stæde thereof to make a newe triple vow to man. For what haue you vowed hære (in substance) that was not vowed before in your first triple vowe? Except this onely, that you vowe nowe to liue without a wife, so long as you shall liue: which is not in your power to performe, neither haue you the example of anie Patriarke, Prophet or Apostle that made this vowe, or taught anie other to make it, nor yet any promise of assistance at Gods hand in the performance of it. You promised in the first vow to keep your bodie in temperance, sobernes and chastitie. You promised to renounce the world, which is to be in the world, not as of ỹ world, as hauing all things, and vsing all, and yet possessing nothing, not as a Lord of things hære on earth, but as a steward that loketh continually to be called to his account. You promised also obedience to your Prince, and to all in authority vnder your Prince &c. but that vowe you haue vtterly renounced, and are now sheelded vnder the shield of Antichrist, and holde by an immunitie, wherby you are exempted from the power of all Princes, and doo owe obedience to none, but to that great Antichrist and your graund Pryor, and such superiors as be of that sort. The Lord open the eyes of your vnderstanding, that you may see whose seruice you haue forsaken, and to whom you haue made your selfe a slaue, and what wylbe the ende, if you repent not. Well, you proceede and you say:

The Fryer. Our life is as foloweth. We neuer eate flesh, nor egges, nor butter nor cheese, nor milke, nor any thing els that commeth of flesh, except in great sicknes. So that being in good health we eate Fysh, Oyle, and fruites, when they be giuen vs. We eate not to fill our belly, but to sustaine nature. VVee also speake not one to another at dinner and supper, except there be great necessi-

tie.

tie. We faſt, eating but once a day, from the day of all Saintes, to Chriſtmas day, except Sondayes. The like from Shrouesunday to Eaſter day. Likewiſe euery Friday in the yeere, and wedneſday, except the Wedneſdaies betweene Chriſtmas and Shrouetide, and betweene Eaſter and Whitſontide. All other wedneſdayes we faſt. We touch no money. We riſe euery night Winter and Somer, hote & colde at midnight, to ſing Mattins, before the bleſſed Sacrament of the Alter, the precious body and blood of our Lorde and Sauior Ieſus Chriſt, which is there kept ouer the high Alter. VVe ſing two or three high Maſſes euery day.

Crowley. And heere you haue ſet downe in the margine of your Letters, a note to be (as it were) a caueat for your mother and Father, and all other that may ſeeme to miſlike with your Religion, and thus you ſay.

Fryar. You thinke that we be foles, becauſe that we light waxcandles at day light, and becauſe of other our Ceremonies. You thinke that we be fooles, & our Religion folly. But heare what you may reade in the booke of VViſedome, Chap. 5. where it is written, that the damned in the latter day, bewayling their fooliſhnes, ſhall ſpeake theſe words. Theſe be they, whom in times paſt wee haue had in deryſion, and in the ſimilitude of mockery. We being fooles eſteemed their life to be madnes, and their ende without honour. But now, how are they numbred amongſt the ſons of God? and amongſt the Saints their Lot is fallen. VVe haue erred from the way of truth, & the light of iuſtice hath not ſhined vpon vs, & ſo forth. Take heede I pray you, that you be not one of them, that ſhall ſo bewayle themſelues in the day of Iudgment.

Crowley. Thus farre goeth your merginall note.

To this note of yours, I ſay thus. There is good cauſe to moue you to thinke, that we do think that you are foles: for you can not but know, that we do know, that there is no wiſedome in the that do ſo waſte the good creatures of God, as you do, that ware which you do burne in the day light, when there is no vſe of that artificiall light, becauſe the naturall light, doth then ſerue the turne of euery creature that nedeth ỹ vſe of light. And that madnes of yours is ſo much the greater, for that you ſet thoſe lightes before ſtocks and ſtones, that are faſhioned like men and women, and haue the forme of eyes, but not ỹ ſence of ſight. Yea and the Prophet Dauid

in the Psalme. 115. Doth account you no wiser then those stocks and stones be, when he sayth thus. They that make them, are like vnto them, and so are all they that repose trust in them. You say, that your other Ceremonies dow cause vs to thinke that you are fooles, and your Religion folly. In truth you coniecture right. For wee know that no wise man in the world, would vse such Ceremonies as you dow, nor professe such a Religion, wherin there is (in maner) nothing but meere madnes: As I hope I shall make manifest to al wisemen, in my discourse vpon the seuerall points thereof.

But first, wee must lende you our eares a while, tyll you haue tolde vs what we may reade in the Booke of Wisedome. Chapter. 5 Where it is written, that the damned in the latter day, bewayling their foolishnes, shal speake these words. &c. as aboue. First of all, I must say vnto you, that wee did knowe, and did vnderstande the meaning of those words of wisedom, before you were Frier Iohn, yea, and before you were Samuell Debnam. If you had asked counsell of Nicholaus Lycanus, (which was a Fryer *Minor*) hee would haue tolde you another meaning of the wiseamans words, then that which you dow gather. He writeth thus. *Stabunt iusti in magna constantia: quia perfecti cum Christo iudicabunt, & diuersos eos qui se angustiauerunt, inferendo eis nocumentum in personis. Et qui abstulerunt labores eorum, eis nocendo in rebus possessis.* The righteous shall stand in great constancie: for the perfect men shall sit in iudgment with Christ, against such as haue distressed them, in dowing them hurte in their persons. And such as haue taken from them their labours, in hurting them in those things that they possessed. If these words of the wise man must be applied to you, so that you shoulde bee the Iust men that should stande forth with so great constancie, then must you also be the damned that in the latter day shall bewayle their owne folishnes, for that none doth distresse you in your owne persons but your selfe. You are they that dow punish your selues, by going and lying woolward, by abstaining from flesh, by rysing at midnight, and by whypping and scourging of your selues: and who doth or can hurt you in those things that you possesse, sith you haue vowed, neuer to possesse any thing, no not so much as the garments that belong to your owne bodies. And who can take from you, ante fruits of your labours, seeing that you neuer laboure, and therefore can not reape any fruites of any labour that is downe by you,

you, but are fedde, and haue profeſſed that you wyll and muſt ſtill, be fedde by the labours of other? But wyll you know what Saint Auſten writeth, againſt the ſecond Epiſtle of Gaudentius, that was Biſhop of the Donatiſtes? In the 27. Chapter of that booke, Tom. 7. S. Auguſtine writeth thus. *Agnoſcite ſcelus veſtrum, & nolite vobis vſurpare nomen alienum. Scriptura dixit, Tunc ſtabunt iuſti in magna conſtantia aduerſus eos qui ſe anguſtiauerunt, & qui abſtulerunt labores eorum. Non dixit, ſtabunt omnes qui mala paſſi ſunt: ſed ſtabunt iuſti. Sicut dominus cum dixiſſet: Beati qui perſecutionem patiuntur, niſi addidiſſet propter iuſtitiam, non ſolos ſignificaret, qui pro ſua in domino patientia coronantur; ſed etiam illos qui iuſtis legibus puniuntur. Quapropter, ſi ad vos putatis haec iuſtorum verba quae ſcripta ſunt pertinere: prius an iuſti ſitis oſtendite.* Acknowledge (ſath S. Auſten) your owne wickednes, and dō not vſurpe a name that belongeth not to you. The Scripture hath ſayd: Then the iuſt ſhall ſtand in greate conſtancie, againſt them that haue diſtreſſed them, and haue taken away their labours. It hath not ſayd, as many as haue ſuffered euill ſhall ſtand: but the iuſt ſhall ſtand. Euen as when the Lorde had ſayd: Bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution, except hee hadde added for righteouſnes, he ſhould haue meant, not thē alone which are crowned for their ſuffering in the Lord, but them alſo that are puniſhed by iuſt lawes. Wherefore, if you dō thinke, that theſe words that are written, dō appertaine vnto you: ſhewe firſt whether you be righteous, or no. And in ỳ ſame place it foloweththus. In dēde you haue amongſt you righteouſneſſes ỳ you brag of, great matters, as ỳ deuiding of Chriſt, the cutting off, of the Sacraments of Chriſt, ỳ forſaking of the peace of Chriſt, war againſt ỳ mēbers of Chriſt, accuſations againſt the ſpouſe of Chriſte, & the denying of the promiſes of Chriſt. Theſe are your righteouſneſſes, for which forſoth, you ſhall ſtand in great conſtancie. Thus farre Auguſtine.

Nowe, if I may be ſo bolde with you, let me ſée whether theſe latter words of S. Auſten may not be rightly applied vnto you *Minime* Fryers, and ſuch other Religious perſonnes. Dō you not deuide Chriſt, when you aſcribe your ſaluation, partly to faith in him, and partly to your owne workes, and to the merits of Saints? and when, in the Office of mediation, you ioyne with him his bleſſed mother, and ſuch other as liued holily in this tranſitory life? Do you not cutt off the Sacraments of Chriſt? and after a ſort you a-

brogate them, when you minister Baptisme to belles, Churches, and Churchyardes, and shyppes, which you call the hallowing of these thinges, and when in your conjurations, you christen Cattes and such other creatures to deceiue the deuill withall, when you haue promised to giue him a christened creature? And when you teache that in the Sacrament of the body and blod of Christ, there remaineth no substance of bread and wyne, and so you make it no Sacrament. For (as you once learned, and did openly confesse in my Church) euery Sacrament must consist of two parts, that is, both of earthly and of heauenly matter, and not of the one matter onely? And when you giue it that newe name, calling it the Sacrament of the Altare, and when you do reserue it, hanging it ouer your Altar, carrying it abroade to shew it to the people, teaching them to fall downe and worship it, and so make an Idoll of it? Yea when in your masse you make a sacrifice of it, for ỹ sins both of the liuing & of the dead? yea and in stormes & tempestious wether, you make it a bugge to feare the deuill withall. And whē you teache that the peace of mens consciences, must not bee stayed vppon the fayth in Christ onely: but vppon the worthines of the workes that are wrought by men, do ye not forsake the peace of Christe? Yea when you holde, some of Frauncis (as you & the Gray Fryers do) some of Austine, as the Augustine Fryers do, some of Dominicke, as the Dominicane Fryers do: some of Marye, as the Carmelite or whyte Fryers doo: and some of Jesus, as the newe founde Jesuites do. And to bee briefe, all the rable of your Religious: do ye not all forsake that peace that GOD hath giuen in his peace maker Christ, and seeke it in them whose Religions you professe, whose rules you followe, and whose names you beare? Dyd not S. Paule blame the Corinthians, for that they forsaking this peace of Christ, would hold one of Cephas, another of Apollo, another of Paule, another of Christ? Were you baptised in the name of Paule? sayth he. Was Paule Crucified for you? I feare me you be rebaptised: For what meaneth the chaunging of your name? In your first baptisme, you were called Samuell, and by your Fathers progeny Debnam, and by your profession a Christian. But now you must be called John Frauncis. And what meaneth this, but that the name of Frauncis, hath blotted out both the name of Debnam, and the name Christian also.

If

If serche shalbe made in the Regiſter that is kept in the Parrish Church of Waltam, it wyll be found there, that one Samuell Debnam was baptiſed there: and not John Frauncis. So that Samuell Debnam is the Chriſtian, and John Frauncis is the Fryer. Judge you whether of theſe is likely to be founde in Gods Regiſter, which is called the booke of life. If Chriſt bee that life, then they are written in the booke of life that be Chriſtians, If Frauncis be not that life, then are not they written in the boke of life which be Franciſcans, and ſo of all other your Popiſh Religious. Be not deceiued therefore Samuell. The Corinthians whom Paule rebuked, did vndoubtedly thinke as you do. That is, that holding of Cephas, Apollo, and Paule: they did not forſake ỹ peace of Chriſt. For ſo (I am aſſured) you thinke, that hauing profeſſed the Religion of Frauncis, you haue not forſaken the Religion of Chriſt. And yet Paule doth charge them as men, that in their doinges gaue occaſion to him to conceiue this opinion of them, that they were become Cephaſians, Apollianiſtes, and Pauliſts, and not Chriſtians. Take hēde Samuell, our aduerſary the deuyll is ſubtyll, and doth oftentimes ſhewe himſelfe in the likenes of an Angell of light. You haue (I thinke) read the firſt Chapter of Saint Johns Reuelations. And you either haue or may reade, the godlie and learned interpretations, that godly learned men haue made, concerning the foure horſes therein mentioned. The firſte being white, doth preſigure the time that was begunne, when this Reuelation was ſhewed to John, and did continue all his dayes, and hath continued euer ſince, and ſhall continue euen to the ende: although not ſo generallie, and ſo apparantlie as at the firſt. Thys white horſe is gone forth, and is not returned again, but goeth forth ſtill whether ſoeuer his rider will direct him. And his ryder doth with his arrowes ſtrike the harts of ſuch as he wyll conquere and make ſubiecte vnto him. And thus hee goeth forth ſtill conquering, that he might ouercome and conquere. The ſeconde horſe beeing redde, doth ſignifie the time of bloodie perſecution (which was alſo begunne, when this Reuelation was ſhewed to the ſeruaunt of Jeſus Chriſt, bleſſed S. John. And his ryder had power giuen him to take peace from the earth, and he had a great ſword giuen him alſo. Whereby were ſignified the tenne bloodie perſecutions that folowed immediatly after the white horſe was gone foorth and had con-

quered many. And those bloody persecutions were executed by that great sword the Romane Monarchie. The third horse was black, whereby was signified the time of ignorance, that beganne againe after the persecution was staied, (but not ended, for it continueth to this day, and so shall it continue euen to the ende.) The rider that ryode on this horse, had a Ballance in his hand, wherwith he wayed Gods Lawes, and mens inuentions, and deemed them to bee of like waight: and hereof sprong all those horrible heresies, that euer since haue, and do still trouble the Church, and especially that Pelagian heresie, that your sort do still maintaine, and the making of mens inuentions equall with Gods lawe, yea rather preferring them before Gods lawes: but wine and Oyle that rider might not hurt. That is, he had no power to corrupt the text, either of the old or newe Testament. The fourth horse was pale, and signified the time that followed immediatly after this time of deepe ignorance, and doth continue to this day, wherein great swarmes of pale Hypocrites (cue such as you haue professed to bee, to continue to your liues ende) haue beene and are still bredde. The ryder of this horse is death, and hell followeth after him. Take heede therefore, your way is not the way of life, but of death. They that will follow such blinde guydes, shall fall into the pyt with them. You are they that shall say in the last day: We haue erred from the trueth, and the light of righteousnes hath not shined vpon vs, neither hath ỹ sunne of vnderstanding risen vp vnto vs. We haue wearied our selues in the way of iniquity and destruction, and wee haue walked in harde wayes, but the way of the Lord we haue not knowne. For you bee they that haue distressed such as God hath (by the mediation of hys Sonne) discharged of sinne, and so iustified them in his sight, you haue tolde them, that except they shall punish themselues as you do your selues, they can not be saued. You haue taken from such their labours, when by your perswasions, they haue bestowed that which they haue gotten by their labours vppon you, to maintaine you in idlenes, hoping to be saued by your holines, which is nothing but meere hipocrisie. And thus much concerning your forsaking of the peace of Christ.

You make warre against the members of Christe, you accuse the spouse of Christ, and you denie the promises of Christ, as Saint Austen hath sayd to the Donatistes, You proclaime open warre a-

gainst

gainſt all ſuch as dare ſay ỳ they haue receiued the ſpirit of Chriſte, and that they are by that ſpirit certified that GOD in mercy hath made them his owne children by adoption, and ſo conſequently mẽbers of his ſonne Chriſt. You accuſe as Heretickes, all ſuch as dare ſay that Chriſt Jeſus hath waſhed them ſo in the fountaine of hys owne hart blood, that nowe they be in him and through him, a glorious ſpouſe vnto him, not hauing ſpotte or wrinkle or any deformity of ſinne. The promiſes of Chriſt you denie, in that you ſay, that not euery one that beléeueth and is baptiſed ſhall be ſaued, no not though they make their beléefe knowne vnto men by their obedience to Chriſt, in following the Rule that he hath preſcribed, and endeauouring to do as their heauenly Father hath commaunded. But he that wyll be ſaued, muſt liue in obedience to your holy father, the Popes holines. Thus much for ỳ applying of thoſe words vnto you, and other Popiſh Religious, that Saint Auſten wrote againſt the Donatiſtes.

Nowe to the Rule of your Religion, which is, (as you ſay) neuer to eate fleſh &c. In his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, and the 8. Chapter, S. Paule writeth thus. *Eſca autem, nos non commendat Deo.* Meate doth not make vs more acceptable to God. Neither are we the better if we eate, nor the worſe if we eate not. And againe, in the firſt of the ſame Epiſtle. *Eſca ventri, & venter eſcis. Hunc & has deſtruet Deus.* Meate is appointed for the belly, and the belly for the meate, but God wyll deſtroy both the one and the other. By theſe places and diuers other, it appeareth that Chriſtians haue liberty to vſe all Gods good creatures, and that they are not the better or more acceptable in Gods ſight. When they do vſe them, nor leſſe acceptable when they refuſe the vſe of them, except the refuſall do proceede of an opinion of ſome holines or vnholines in the vſe or refuſall of them. If you feede not to fill your bellyes, but to ſuſtaine nature, with thankes to God for his creatures, you do well. But you are in greater danger to erred in eating, when you feede vpon delitate fiſhes and fruites, then if you did feede vpon ſuch kindes of fleſh, as the common ſorte of people are accuſtomed to feede on. It is the moderate vſe of Gods creatures, and our thanks giuen to him for them, that do make our eating or abſtayning, acceptable vnto him. Your eating but once in a day, from the day of All ſaintes, to Chriſtmas day, and from Shroueſunday to Eaſter (which you call

fasting) is nothing. For you may eate as much at one meale, as might suffice you at two or three. The like is to be thought of all your wednesdayes fastings, for they are but a diuersity in eating or feeding. Your refrayning the touching of money, may be thought to be a toy to mocke an Ape with all. And your rysing at mydnight, may be oppolite to your sleeping at none. You say, that you do at midnight sing your Mattins before the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, the precious bodie and blod of our Lord and Saviour Christ which is there kept ouer the high Altar. What pleasure you do, or can do to that Sacramēt, by singing your Mattins before it, I can not vnderstand: for I think it can not heare any one word that you do either sing or say, and so it can not be delighted with the hermonie of your musicke. I put you in minde of these thinges, because your greatest Clerkes haue written, that Christ is not in that blessed Sacrament of yours, with his dementions and liniaments of bodie, neither with his Organs of sences: but meruailously, & with out the distinction of parts. I thinke therefore, that in the cold wether, it were more wisedome for you to keepe your selues warme in your beddes, that when you be waking, you may sing and make melodie in your harts to God: then to rise out of your bedds, and sit quyuering and quaking in your wyde and cold Quyer, to pleasure him with musicke, that hath not one eare to heare your harmonie. For vndoubtedly, you can not but wysh that you had done, before you haue well begunne. And what thankes can you looke for at the handes of that Sacrament that you sing your Mattins before? And in the hotte or warme wether, I thinke it shoulde be more profitable for you, to be in your studies (if you haue any) at a conuenient houre, endeuouring to learne the meaning of ỹ Prophete in those Psalmes that you vse to sing in your Mattins (for the most parte) without vnderstanding. Well, you sing two or three high masses euery day. I thinke you mistake your termes. For in such Churches as yours, there is but one high masse, whether it be sayde or songe, the other (though they be songe) are not called high masses, for they are not that masse that is appointed for that day, but of our Lady, of S. George, of S. Dionice, S. Frauncis, or some other. But what masses soeuer you sing or say, the moe the worse, and the fewer the better. For the best is but Idolatry, derogation to the glorye of Christes passion, and seducing of Christians. and a mere mockerye

of

of Christes holy institution.

You procéde now in the declaration of the straightnes of your Order: and thus you say.

The Fryar. Wee lye in our clothes in bedde, without sheetes, and yet we keepe our selues cleane. We goe to bedde at 8. a clock, and rise at halfe an hower past a leuen. We returne to our bedd at halfe an houre past 2, or most commonlie at three, and rise againe at sixe. When we haue doone (or when any one of vs hath doone a misse) he that hath offended must doo penaunce. Our penaunces are to fast bread and water, to sit and dine vpon the earth, to kisse our bretherens (the Fryers) feete, to whyp our selues the space of halfe a quarter of an houre, more or lesse, according as the cheefe father thinketh good. we dare not speak one to another in the night time, except necessity cõstraine vs. We dare not strike one another, in iest or in earnest. Our whips are made, some of whyp corde the length of mine arme, with long knots cũningly wrought. Other of our whyps are made of yron chaines, such as women are wont to hang their keyes vpon. Other haue their whips with siluer pins, to the intent that the backe canker not. My whyp is made of whyp-corde. I had another made of the foresaid chaines, which I haue vsed manie times. I haue (be it spoken to the honor of God) whipt my selfe often times: I think forty times & aboue. In which whipping, as I feele often times extreame paine, so also I haue heauenly cõsolations, in so much that it is an easie thing with me now, to giue my self 400. stripes at once before that I leaue. (God knoweth I lye not) when we whip our selues, either for deuotion sake, in remembraunce of the bitter passion of our Sauiour, or els when wee whyp our selues for penaunce, we doo put of our garments to the reynes of our backe, and turne our hood aside, so that our backe, armes and shoulders are naked, being so naked, with a discipline (as we call it) or a whip in our hande, one of the Fryers beginneth the 50. Psalme of *Dauid*, saying: *Miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.* And all the while that he sayeth the Psalme, the other whippeth himselfe. In the meane season, whilst that one doth say the foresaid psalme. I haue giuen my selfe for deuotion sake (becaus that Christ was whipped for me) foure hundred stripes. Euery Friday, from our Ladies day in Lent, to May day, I whip my selfe for your sake. And I pray for you, vnto the intẽt that it may please God to turn your harts, & saue your souls.

Crowley. Proceeding in the declaration of the straightnes of your life, you say that you lie in your clothes in bed without sheetes, and yet you keepe your selues cleane. It may be so, for you haue leasure enough to knacke your creepers, when they begin to molest you, and Staue sacre, is a soueraine thing to destroy that cattell that is accustomed to breede in the beddes and bosomes of such lasye Lubbers, as do accustome themselues to lye in their clothes. If it bee a point of holines to lye in bedde without sheetes, then are the common sort of people in diuers parts in England as holy as you, for they neuer lie in any, yet they putt of their clothes when they goe to bedde. And I my selfe hauing beene in some of those parts of the Realme, haue taken such lodging as the Country vseth, but I haue not lyen in my clothes as you say that you do. I do know by that little experience that I haue had therein, that after a man is accustomed for some space to lie in blankets, he will chose rather to continue that kind of lodging then to change it. But let this matter passe, for a Louse bredde in blankets, is not more holye then that Louse that is bredd in sheetes. And this Epitheten louse, hath bene thought meete for a Fryer euer since I could remember. You say that you goe to bedde at eight of the clocke. &c. I know diuers Artificers in London (and I think such may be found in Paris also) that labouring sore all the day long, do not sleepe before eleuen of the clocke, and yet ryse againe at foure or fyue at the furdest, so ỹ they sleepe not aboue 6. howres in one night, where as by your own confession, you do commonlie sleepe 7. houres, and do no labour at all, but loyter all the day long. The Religion therefore of those labouring Artificers, is (in that point) straighter then yours. When you do (or when anie of you doth) a misse: hee that hath offended must do penaunce. If this be true, thē must you all do penaunce euerie day. For as the Psalmist saith. 19. *Delicta quis intelligit?* Who can be able to tell how oft he offendeth? And Salomon saith, Prouerb. 24. *Septies cadet iustus* (And as your sort do reade his words) *Septies in die cadet iustus.* The righteous person shall fall seauen times in a day. But I am sure, your meaning is not of such offences as Salomon speaketh of. That is, of deedes that are done, words that are spoken, and thoughts that are conceiued contrary to Gods commaundements: but your meaning is, of offences cōmitted against the Rules of your Religion. As when you lust or long after anie

kinde

kind of flesshe, when you be slacke in arysing to sing your Mattins before your blessed Sacrament of the Altar, when being drowsye, you singe not lustilie, when you passe by anie of your Idoles, and do not dowke lowe enough to them, when you lowte not lowe enough to your Prior, and other your auncients in Religion, when you thinke not so reuerently of euery point of your Religion as you haue bene taught to do, when you behaue not your selfe so deuoutlie in singing your Mattins and high masses as you should do, when you speake to anie of your fellowe Fryers, either at dinner or at supper, or in the night, and when you thinke well of, or wishe well, to anie of those Heretickes, that haue had the bringing vpp of you, and haue bene to carefull for you. I coniecture that these bee the misdedes that you must do penaunce for. As for the breaking of Gods commaundements, that is no offence amongst *Minime* Fryers. Well, you say that your penaunces are to fast breade and water. &c. By this I coniecture that your common drinke is wine. Manie honest men that laboure sore, haue water for their common drink. I haue heard of an Abbot in England, that inioined his horse such penaunce, because he felt him too lustie & sturring vnder hym. Syra (said the Abbot to his horsekeeper) see that you giue not thys horse any thing for the space of these tenne dayes, but onely breade and water. Was not this great pennance for the poore horse to endure thinke you? The quality and quantity of your bread may bee such, that it shall rather be a pleasure then a punishment to bee put to that pennaunce. But graunt that your breade which you eate when you be put to penanuce, be such as King Achab commaunded to be giuen to Michæas the Prophet. 3. Reg. 22. The bread of tribulation, and the water of sorow: Yet what a satisfaction is this, for so haynous an offence, as the transgression of the leaste of Gods commandements. Adam was inioyned much greater penaunce thē this, and much longer time then for the space of one day. For it was sayd to him by God himself. In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eate thy breade, all the daies of thy life, till thou shalt be turned againe into the earth. &c. And yet all this penaunce could not satisfy for that one sinne that he committed, when he tasted of the forbid fruite. Yea although all his posterity euen vnto this day, had done, and we & our posteritie should do, such penaunce as you speake of, continually, euen to the end of the world: yet all this long penaunce

could not reuerse this sentence, pronounced by God himselfe. *Morte morieris.* Thou shalt die the death. Onely the death of him, in whom there neuer was any sinne, is sufficient to satisfy for all sinne. Your dyning vpon the earth with bread and water: the kyssing of your brethren the Friers feete, the whipping of your selues for the space of halfe a quarter of an howre, more or lesse, at the discretion of the cheefe father, may be some outward signe of inward sorrow conceiued for some offence committed, and some argument of detestation thereof inwardly in the heart. But an Hipocrite may do as much as all this, and yet delight in his wickednes still. Reade the 58. Chapter of Esaies prophesies. *Nunquid tale est ieiunium quod elegi? per diem affligere hominem animam suam? &c.* Is this the fast that I haue chosen (saith the Lord, by the Prophet) for a man to afflicte his owne soule for the space of a day? to bowe downe the heade like a Bulrush? to lye in sackcloth? wylt thou call this a fast and a day acceptable to the lorde? &c.

But when the cheefe father himselfe shall offende, who shall moderate his whippings. I hope you wyl resolue me in that doubt at your next comming into England. &c. You dare not speake one to another in the night. &c. Your whips are made of whipcorde. &c. Your silence is not to be misliked if it be voide of superstition. That your whyps are made, some of one matter, and some of another, is not much materiall. But the lacke of such a hand to vse the whips as our Bedles in Bridewell haue, is the cause that you laye on so manie hundreds at one time, and feele such heauenly consolation, after you haue laid so many hundred lashes vpon your owne backes. If you long to be well whipped for your sinnes, or in the remembrance of the bitter passion of our Sauiour, make a steppe ouer the Seas into England, and come to our Bridewell, you shall finde a good fellowe there, that will giue you foure lashes with his whypp that shall be more worth then any foure hundreth of those lashes that euer you gaue your selfe, with any one of those whippes that you haue vsed. Well, I will descant no longer vpon your apyche whypping. Whippe your selfe still euery Fryday from our Ladye day in Lent, till May day, for your selfe if you lyst, but not for vs. Christ Jesus was once whypped for vs, and crucified and deade vpon the Crosse for vs, and as the Prophete Esay sayth. Chapter. 53. *Disciplina pacis nostræ, cecidit super illum.* The correction that might

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purchaſe our peace is fallen vppon him. And by his woundes and ſtripes we are made whole. Wee neede no ſuch mediators as the *Minime* Fryers are. And except you doo in your prayers begge a better thinge for vs, then turning of our hearts from the loue and beleefe of the Goſpell of Chriſt, to the loue and beleefe of Antichriſtian popery, I pray you make your prayers for thoſe frends that you haue on that ſide the ſeas, for you haue ſayd before, ỳ amongſt vs you haue not one frende.

The Fryer. This is (ſay you) the life that I leade, and that I am likely to leade: in faſting and praying, in penaunce and payne, and great trauell. This life I haue choſen to ſerue God in, no man lyuing compelling me: of my owne free wyll I tooke it vppon me. Many there were that did what they could to hinder me, vſing manie meanes to put it out of my head, yet haue I gone forward. Peraduenture you will aske me the cauſe, why I haue taken vpon mee this life. I aunſwere you, for my ſinnes and for yours. VVhy was our bleſſed Sauiour borne in a ſtable of horſes, without pompe & vanitie? VVhy was he circumciſed & his bloode drawn? why did he trauell from place to place, from Cittie to Cittie, from Village to Village, preaching, praying, faſting, healing the ſicke, & working miracles? VVhy did he ſweate his precious bloode, when hee prayed in the Mountaine of Olyues? VVhy was hee betrayed by the traytor Iudas, bound with chaynes, mocked and ſcorned, ſpyt vppon and whypped, ſtroken vppon the face, crowned wyth thornes, & hanged vpon the Croſſe by thoſe merciles Iewes? what was the cauſe why holy Saint Iohn Baptiſt, eate nothing but locuſtes and wyld honny, being apparaled in hayre? All theſe paynes both of our Sauiour Chriſt and of his forerunner, were they not for our ſinnes? Coulde not our bleſſed Sauiour with his word redeeme our ſoules that were damned to hell fyre, by the diſobedience of our firſt father *Adam*, as well as he created them by hys worde? Our ſinnes then were the cauſe of the paſſion of our Sauiour, for if we had not ſinned, he had neuer died. Conſider thys I pray you, if another ſuffer for my ſinnes, ſhall not I my ſelfe ſuffer?

Crowley. The life that you leade, and are likely to leade, is hypocriticall, damnable and deuilliſh. Hypocriticall, becauſe it conſiſteth all together in outward ſhewes of holines, whereas when it

is layd open, there is none other thing to be founde in it, then such as is to be founde in the graues of dead men, as our Sauiour sawe to be in ỹ liues of the Phariseis. Math. 23. Damnable it is. For that it is Antichristian. And deuillish: for that it sauoureth nothing of that heauenlie wisedome that is from aboue, comming down from the father of lights, but it is earthlie, and beastly, and diabolicall, as blessed Iames hath writtē Epistle Chap. 3. This life you haue chosen frælie, and of your owne accorde, and could by no meanes be staied from it: that therein you might serue (not God, but) Gods sworne enemie, the Antichrist of Rome. You imagine that wee wyll aske you wherefore you haue made this choise: you answere, for your owne sinnes and ours. Oh thou child of the deuill, full of all guyle and disceite: darest thou shoulder Christ, and thrust thy selfe into the office of mediation, which belongeth onelie to Christe? canst thou (wretched Frier) satisfie to God, bothe for thine owne sinnes and for ours? This blasphemie of thine hath enforced mee, to vse thæ in spæches as S. Paule vsed the Sorcerer Elymas at Paphus. Acts. 13. But to make your matter good: You aske why Christe our Sauior would be borne, circumcised &c. As though all those actions of his, had bæne but examples for vs to follow. Some of these actions of his, were in some sort examples for vs to followe: but if we shall take vpon vs (as you do) to folow them all, or any of them, with purpose to redæme thereby, either our owne sinnes, or ỹ sins of other, either in the whole or in parte: we shal bee but Appyshe, as you be, and blasphemous in that wee take vppon vs that which belongeth to that one onelie mediatour betwixte God and man, euen the man Iesus Christ.

Take hæde least that fall vpon thæ (Fryer John Francis) which fell vpon Elymas, reade Acts. 13. And yet furder to adde more authoritie to your owne doing. You aske of vs, why holy S. John Baptist did eate nothing but Locustes and wyld honnye. &c. And your conclusion is, that all this was for our sinnes, euen as the sufferings of our Sauiour Christ were. Thus you make many mediatours, where God hath made but one. 1. Tim. 2. But hære you vse a strange point of Logicke, concluding very strangely: vpon an As strange an Assertion. Could not our blessed Sauiour (say you) as well by his word redæme our damned soules, as he did by his worde create them? Which manner of spæch doth import as much

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as if you ſhould ſay, no man can or dare open his mouth to deny it, for it is a truth confeſſed of all men. But what dw you inferre vpon this? Therefore our ſinnes were the cauſe of the paſſion of our Sauiour. If you ſhould make this argument in the Schooles in Lutecia: the Sorboniſts would hyſſe you out of their Schooles. The Diuines alſo would tell you, that the premiſſes are not yet graunted, although your graund Pryor, and your holy father the Popes holines, would ſoothe you in it. The Diuines dw (by a generall conſent) ſay, that becauſe the burden of ſinne, and the damnation due vnto it, is ſo great and horrible in the ſight of GOD, that the wrath of God for ſinne, could not otherwiſe be appeaſed, nor his iuſtice ſatiſfyed, then by the cruell and bloodie death of that man that neuer had ſinned, neither was by any meanes ſpotted or defyled with ſinne, and therefore had not any way deſerued to die. And heereupon they conclude, that of neceſſitie, the onely begotten ſonne of God, in whome there coulde be no ſinne, muſt take mans nature of the ſubſtaunce of a bleſſed virgine, prepared before of GOD for that purpoſe, that the nature of man taken of her ſubſtaunce, might not haue in it any part of mans ſinne, and that, that ſonne of God, beeing both God and man, might die in his mans nature, that bloodie death that mans ſinne had deſerued, and ſo Gods wrath myght be appeaſed, and his iuſtice ſatiſfyed, which could neuer haue beene brought to paſſe by any other meane. Hereof wee may conclude, that in ſome ſort our ſinnes were the cauſe of the death of our Saui our Chriſt. This leſſon you had once learned, and did repeate it openlie in my Church at Creplegate of London, in the preſence and hearing of a great multitude of Chriſtians, which conceiued no ſmall hope, that you beeing borne of ſuch Chriſtian Parents (as you were) and brought vp vnder ſuch maſters, as had ſo inſtructed you in Chriſtian Religion, that beeing but of tender yeeres, you were ſo perfect in the principles of that our Religion, woulde haue proued an excellent Miniſter in the houſe of God, to the great ioye of ſuch as had beene at charge in your education, and to the furthering of Chriſtes glory in the Realme of Englande, your natiue Countrey. But ſee howe ſathan hath bewitched you. You are nowe become a pyſſing potte in the Chamber of Antichriſt. Thys commeth of thy pryde, Samuell, GOD gaue thee good gyfts, that thou ſhouldeſt haue vſed them to his glory, but thou haſt pryded thy ſelfe

in them, and hast euery way abused them, and art fallen into the handes of God (which is a thing most horrible Heb. 10.) The Lord for his mercie sake open the eyes of thyne vnderstanding, that thou maist see the greatnes of thine owne misery, and acknowledge the great fault of thine Apostacie, and craue helpe at the hande of our heauenlie Father, whose mercy is as great as him selfe, and is alwaies ready to receiue euery Prodigall sonne that returneth home againe vnto him, and seeketh after euery sheepe that is gon astray. Returne therefore Samuell, returne to our heauenly Father. Be no longer called by that hypocriticall name of Fryer John Fraunces. Thy name Samuell, which was giuen to thee in thy Baptisme, is not yet blotted out of our heauenly Fathers Register: neyther shall be before the day of thy departing out of this life. Return in time, seeke God whilst he may be founde, call vppon him whylst he is at hande, and hath his eares open to heare all such as call vpon him faithfully. Make not so light a matter of sinne, as to thinke that John Baptistes feeding vpon Locusts and wylde honney, &c. could be any helpe to take away anie part of the damnation due to our sinnes. Be ashamed of that fonde perswasion that moued you to say thus. Consider this (I pray you) If another suffer for my sinnes: shall not I my selfe suffer? You seeme to be perswaded, that of necessity we must suffer for our owne sinnes, because Christ hath suffered for them alreadie. Whereas (in verie deede) the contrarye is most true. Because Christe hath already suffered for our sinnes, therefore we neede not to suffer for them. For his suffering for our sinnes is sufficient, and is a full satisfaction for the sins of ỹ whole worlde. And there remaineth nothing to be done by vs, but onelye by faith to take the benefite of that his suffering, and to shewe our selues thankfull to him, for that it hath pleased him to suffer for vs, and by his suffering to restore vs to the fauour of the heauenly maiestie againe. Which thankes we render when wee mortifye our fleshlie affections, and make our bodies a Sacrifice to God, lyuing holie and acceptable. For this is our reasonable seruing of God, as writeth S. Paule. Rom. 12. This is that sounde doctrine, that in your yonger dayes was taught you, & you learned, & did once openly confesse in my Church at Creplegate. Do you therefore (I pray you) consider better of this matter: and be perswaded, that for as much as another (which is Christ the sonne of the lyuing GOD)

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hath ſuffered for your ſins, you are by his ſuffering redéemed from your ſinnes, and from euerlaſting damnation, due to your ſinnes, and by his reſurrection iuſtified, and made righteous in the ſight of the heauenly Maieſty, and diſcharged of your ſinnes paſt for euer. Rom. 4. And when you ſhall by the frailty of your fleſh fal and commit ſinne: follow the counſell of Chriſtes déere Diſciple Iohn, that wrote the hiſtory of the Goſpell, and thoſe thrée Epiſtles that are called Canonicall. In the ſecond Chapter of the firſt of thoſe thrée Epiſtles, he writeth thus. My little babes, I writ thus vnto you, that you ſhould not ſinne: but if anie man doo ſinne, we haue an Aduocate with God the Father, euen Chriſte Ieſus the righteous, he is the obtainer of mercy for our ſinnes. The words of Iohn in the Latine are theſe *Ipſe eſt propitiatio.* I thinke I can not tranſlate them better for the vnderſtanding of the meaning by the Engliſhe Reader, then as I haue, that is: He is the obtayner of mercy for our ſinnes. We néede not therfore to ſéeke for a ghoſtly father, that may heare our confeſſion, and giue vs penaunce and abſolution. Chriſt hath alreadie ſuffered penaunce for our ſinnes, and hath abſolued vs. We néede not to runne to Rome for pardon. For GOD hath alreadie pardoned all our ſinnes paſt and repented, becauſe we beléeue that promiſe of pardon, that he hath made in the death and blood ſhedding of his onelie begotten ſonne, our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. And when we ſinne by frailtie, wee haue an open way in vnto the mercie ſeate of God, by and through our Sauiour Chriſt, who is the way, the truth and the life. Iohn. 14.

You proceéde, and thus you ſay.

The Fryar. We reade in the fift of Leuiticus: how our Lorde commaunded the children of Iſraell to doo penaunce, when they had committed any offence. Iudg. 21. *Vniuerſus Iſrael valde doluit, egitque pœnitentiam, ſuper hoc quod fiebat.* All the Children of Iſraell were very ſorry, and they did penaunce for that which they hadde doone. Holie Iob, in the 24. Chapter of his booke, ſayeth: *Dedit eis Deus locum pœnitentiæ.* God of his wonderfull mercy gaue man place to do penaunce. *Diſſimulas* (ſaith Salomon) *peccata hominum, propter pœnitentiam.* Thou (O Lord) dooſt diſſemble the ſinnes and iniquities of mē, vnto the intent, that they may doo penaunce, Eccl. 2. *Si pœnitentiā nō egerimus, incidemus in manus domini.* If we doo not penaunce, we ſhal fal into the hands of our Lord. And what is this to fal into the hands of our Lord? *Horrendū eſt* (ſaith S. Paule

Cap.10. *ad Hebreos*) *incidere &c.* It is a horrible thing to fall into the hands of our liuing God. Yet had I rather fall into his handes, then into the pawes of our aduersary the deuill. *Conuertisti me* (saith the Prophet Ieremie. 31. *et egi pœnitentiam.* Thou hast conuerted me (O Lord) and I haue doone penaunce. But goe further, and you shall heare our Sauiour himselfe, by his owne mouth, calling vs to penaunce, in the 13. Chapter of S. Luke, saying: *Si non feceritis pœnitentiam: omnes simul peribitis.* If you will not doo penaunce, you shall perrish all together. O what a dolefull sentence? you shall perish altogether. Let vs therefore cry with the Prophet Ieremie 31. chapter of his prophesies, *Conuerte me & conuertar: postquam enim conuertisti me, egi pœnitentiam. Et postquam ostendisti mihi, percussi femur meum.* Conuert and turne me (O Lord) and I shalbe conuerted. For after thou haddest conuerted me, I did penaunce. And when thou hadst shewed me my sinnes, I strake my thygh. Let this therefore suffice to shewe you, that in vaine I haue not taken vpon me this kinde of life, the which I haue therefore specified, at large vnto you: becausse you desired so earnestlie, to knowe howe I am likelie to lyue.

Crowley. Here you haue heaped together a nũber of Scriptures, to a farre other ende, then they were at the first written. That is to proue that you were moued by those Scriptures, to make choyse of that Religion wherein you liue, and that otherwise you coulde not escape the heauy wrathe of GOD, and so consequently, that who soeuer will escape Gods wrath must do as you do. And first you say, we reade in the 5. Chapter of Leuiticus &c. In this place of Leuiticus, there is not one word that may rightly be applyed to your purpose, as shall (I hope) plainelie appeare, euen to your selfe, if you can with indifferent iudgment reade that which heere followeth.

And first I must admonish you of one point of peuishe superstition, that sheweth it selfe in all that be of your sorte, as often as you haue occasion to translate into English, this Latine word *Dominus.* For superstitiously (as I take it) you ad vnto it the English of the Latine Pronowne *Noster.* Yea, though there be in the circũstance of the text, nothing to be founde that might giue you any occasion so to do. As in this place of Leuiticus, you haue no occasion at al to say: Our Lord God commaunded the Children of Israell. &c. For

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the commaundements that are written in that Chapter, are gyuen by Moses, by whom the Lord God of Israell did speake to the children of Israell. And Moses speaking to them in the name of that Lorde that bidde him speake vnto them, doth not vse any spæche that may bee rightly translated into English, Our Lord. For thus he saith in the place that you cite. *Anima quæ iurauerit, & protulerit labijs suis, vt vel male faceret, vel bene: et id ipsum iuramento & sermone firmauerit, oblitaq; postea intellexerit delictum suum: agat pœnitentiam pro peccato, & offerat. &c.* A soule that hath sworne, and hath vttered with his lippes, that he will dœ either euill or well, and hath confirmed the same by an oath and by spæche, and hauing forgotten the same, shall afterwarde vnderstande his fault: let him repent for his sinne, and offer a shée Lambe, or a shée Goate of the flockes, and the Priest shall pray for that forgetfulnes or ignorance, and for that mans sinne. &c. What is hære written that might mœue you to say, that our Lord commaunded the children of Israell to dœ penaunce when they had committed any offence? I must admonishe you also of your fault, in translating continually penaunce, in stéede of repentaunce. For as (commonly) when the Latine word *Dominus* is vsed in the Scriptures, it doth signifie that mighty Lorde which is Lorde of all, it is not to be restrained by anie Pronowne, from that Generall signification, as to say, my Lord, our Lorde, or their Lord, because he is not onely, mine, ours, or theirs, but the Lord of all: Euen so the worde *Pœnitentia* is not to be drawne to an outward shewe of repentaunce onely, which may be called penaunce, and may be as well in Hypocrites, as in such as be penitent in déede. The Grecians (as you knowe, I thinke) dœ name it by a name, that by interpretation doth signifie, *Post factum sapere*. To bée late wise, as in English we vse to terme it, μετάνοια, is, whē a man remembreth himselfe better then he did when hee toke in hand an action, wherewith he beginneth to mislike after the déede is donne. As in your present case, it may be, and I hope it wyll shortlie come to passe, that you returning to your former minde, wyll mislike with your disobedient manner of departing from your naturall Parents, and with your disloyall leaning of your native Countrey, and so repent that you haue bound your selfe by a vowe to liue a *Minime* Fryer all the dayes of your life, which is to be vnprofitable, bothe to your Parents and Countrey, directly contrarye

to the Lawes both of God and of nature. If it shall please GOD to worke this μετανοιαν in you, you must, (if you will dw well) return to that first vowe which was made for you when you were baptised, and leaue the latter vow, repenting that euer you were so mad as to make it, bæing (as it is) so contrary to that vowe which you first made in your Baptisme, and professed afterwardes before so manie witnesses. Follow not the example of Herod & other, which making vowes did wickedly, but more wickedly in the performing of those vowes. Math. 14. Judg. 11. Acts. 23. Wee knowe what your maisters of Rhemes, either haue taught, or can teache you touching this matter. If you be determined, and will not hearken to better aduice, we can but wyshe you well, and sorrowe to sæ your wilfull follye.

But to returne to the place of Leuiticus the fift Chapter, which you alledge: if you will looke into the Hebrew text, you shall finde no such worde as you sæme to take holde vppon. The worde that is vsed there, can not signifie to dw penaunce: but doth signifie, that he may confesse that wherin he hath sinned, or offended. This place therefore, serueth nothing for your purpose. The next place that you alledge, is out of the 21. of the Judges. *Vniuersus Israel valde doluit, & pœnitentiam egit, super hoc quod fiebat*, say you, but that translation, that is best allowed by men of your sort, hath it thus. *Super interfectione vnius tribus ex Israel.* Howe can you then translate it thus into English. All the people of Israel were very sorry, and they did penaunce for that which they had dwne? But if you will looke into the Hebrewe text, you shall find that you should haue sayd thus. The people sorowed for the Beniamits, because the Lord had made a breache in the tribes or kindreds of Israell. The thyrd place is out of Job. Chap. 24. *Dedit ei Deus locum pœnitentiæ.* God of his wonderfull mercy, gaue man place to dw penaunce. You vse a Paraphrasis in this translation, to make the place more forcible for your purpose. But thus you should haue translated it. God gaue him place of repentaunce. But if the Hebrewe text be of any credite with you, you wyll say thus. *Dabit ei fiduciam, & immittetur, & oculi eius super vias eorum.* Which may be thus Englished, out of this Hebrewe like Latine. Though God dw giue him boldnes, and he doth trust therein, yet his eyes be vpon their wayes. Howe is it possible to picke any matter out of this text, whereby your whyp-

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ping penaunce may be vnderpropped? But this text doth rather minister matter against you. For it sayth, that although you bee bolde, and do trust to you hypocriticall penaunce, yet God doth stil beholde your wayes. Your hypocrisie that deceiueth men, can not deceiue him. The fourth place that you alledge is (as you say) out of Salomons *Sapientiæ*. 11. But if you wil giue credit to S. Hierom, that booke is *Pseudepigraphus*. That is (if you vnderstand not that worde) it hath a wrong tytle, in that it is called the Wisedome of Salomon. Thus writeth S. Hierome, *In præfatione in libros Salomonis. Nonnulli scriptorum veterum, hunc esse Iudæi Philonis affirmant.* Some of the auncient writers do affyrme, that this is the worke of Philo the Iewe. Yea and he saith that the very stile thereof doth sauour of the Greeke eloquence. I note this, because you Romaine Catholickes, do make all the Bookes that are founde in the Byble of like authoritie.

But nowe to the words of the place alledged. *Dissimulas peccata hominum, propter pœnitentiam.* Thou (O Lord) dost dissemble the sinnes and iniquities of men, vnto the intent that they may do penaunce. In the Greeke it is, εἰς μετανοιαν, that is, *ad pœnitentiam.* To repentance. The circumstaunce of the text giueth, that God beeing mercifull to all creatures, doth not alwayes make it knowne to men that he knoweth the sins of men, for he doth not punish them in haste, but he giueth them time & space to remember themselues better, and to repent, before he take in hande to punish them. Thys repentance is an harty sorowe for the sinne past, and a full purpose and earnest endeuoure to walke in a new way in the time to come. And as for penaunce to be done for satisfaction, is altogether vnnecessarie, for Christ Iesus hath discharged that matter already. But if he had not, the penaunce that we could suffer could not help vs. Your fyft place is taken out of Ecclesiasticus. 2. Chapter. If the Greeke text were not out of credite with you Rhemists, & Romish Catholickes, it might suffice for aunswere to this place, to say shew it in the Greeke, and then we wyll say, you haue sayde somewhat. But *Si pœnitentiam non egerimus*, is not founde in the Greeke, neyther doth the circumstance of the place require, nor yet well suffer it. For thus hath Sirach written there: *Qui timent Dominum, custodiunt mandata illius: et patientiam habebunt vsque ad inspectionem illius, dicentes. (Si pœnitentiam non egerimus) Incidemus in manus Do-*

mini, & non in manus hominum. Secundum enim magnitudinem ipsius, sic & misericordia illius cum ipso est. They that feare the Lorde, doo keepe his commaundements, and will haue patience till they may beholde him, saying: We will fall into the hands of the Lord, and not into the handes of men. For according to the greatnes of himselfe, so is his mercie with him. Heere I haue left out, (if we wyll not, or if we shall not repent) and yet is the sentence of Syrach perfect and the sence good. And in the Greeke it is thus. They that feare the Lord, will seeke to be accepted of him. And they that loue him, will be filled with the Lawe. They that feare the Lord, wyll prepare their harts, and will humble theyr soules in his sight. Wee wyll fall into the handes of God, and not into the handes of men. For as is the greatnes of himselfe, so is his mercy also.

A man might aske heere, what neede there is of this sentence, *Si pœnitentiam non egerimus*: If we repent not, or as you wyll haue it, if wee doo not penaunce. But let it be euen as you haue it in your common translation, and proceede as you doo, saying: And what is this? To fall into the handes of our Lord. You answere *Horrendũ est* (saith S. Paule.) for *ad Hebræos incidere. &c.* It is an horrible thing to fall into the hands of our liuing God. Yet had I rather fall into his handes, then into the pawes of our aduersary the deuill. I thinke your Romaine Catholickes will not like well wyth you, for that you ioyne the Epitheton (liuing) with God, although you doo quallifye it by adding the Pronowne *Noster*, or Our. But let them deale with you for that. I would fayne knowe of you, howe you can fall into the handes of the lyuing God, in such sort as S. Paule meaneth of in these wordes to the Hebrewes: and yet escape the pawes of the deuill. S. Paule speaketh there of such as doo reproche the spirite of Grace, as your selfe haue done in these writtings. And are (I feare me) fallen into the hands of the liuing God, who in iustice hath deliuered you into ỹ pawes of the deuill, whom he maketh his Executioner: and at his good pleasure, he can, and (when you shall μετανοῆσαι that is, repent) vndoubtedly he wyll, ryddo you out of those pawes of the deuill againe. Your firt place is taken out of Ieremie. 31. *Conuertisti me, & egi pœnitentiam.* Thou hast conuerted me (O Lord) and I haue done penaunce. It is some greefe to me to consider the great blindnes that you are fallen into. The Prophet Ieremie doth (in these wordes that you cite, and in those wordes that goe immediatly before, and that doo follow immediatly after)

after) prophesie, or shewe before hand, that in time then to come, the people of the kingdome of the tenne trybes or kindreds of Israell, (whom he calleth Ephraim, because their first king Ieroboam was an Ephramite) should be converted and turned, from their Idolatrous, heathinish, and false Religion, to embrace the true Religion of God, from which they were fallen in the dayes of the wicked Kinges, that had raigned in that kingdome of Israell or Ephraim, and were for that Apostacie, conquered by the Assyrians, and the remnant of them carryed into strange landes, farre off. Of thys converting or turning of the posterity of this people, the Prophet Ieremie doth write after this manner. *Audiens audiui Ephraim transmigrantem* (or as it is in the Hebrewe) *plangentem. Castigasti me Domine, et eruditus sum* (or as it is in the Hebrew) *castigatus sum, quasi vitulus indomitus. Conuerte me & conuertar: quia tu Dominus Deus meus. Postquam enim conuertisti me, egi pœnitentiam: & postquam ostendisti mihi, percussi femur meum. Confusus sum, & erubui quoniam sustinui opprobrium adolescentiæ meæ. &c.* I haue in verye deede (sayth the Lorde) heard Ephraim, skytting out of his Country (or as the Hebrewe hath it) making great or pittifull lamentation. saying after this manner) O Lord, thou hast corrected mee, and I am thereby instructed (or as the Hebrewe hath it) I am chastened like an vntamed Bullocke. Conuert thou turne me, and then I shall bee turned, for thou art the Lord my God. And after thou haddest turned me: I repented. And after thou diddest shewe vnto me (that is after thou diddest let me see the filthines of myne owne life) I dyd strike my thigh. I was confounded, I was ashamed, for I did beare the reproche of mine owne youth. Is not Ephraim a sonne that I esteeme much off? Is he not a Ladde in whom I am delighted? For since I haue spoken of him: I wil still remember him. And therfore, the bowels of my compassion are moued towardes him, and in pitie I wyll haue compassion vpon him, sayth the Lord. The due consideration of these wordes might haue moued you, to do the contrary, of that which you say, you were by them moued to do.

Ephraim had forsaken the right Religion of GOD, and hee had embraced the Religion of Baall, which was a wrong Religion, he had forsaken the precepts, and commaundements of God, and embraced the precepts and commaundements of men. He had refused to hearken to the voyces of the true Prophets of God: and had gyuen eare to the Prophets of Baal, which were false Prophets. He

had left of to walke in those right and high wayes, that the Lorde had taught his own people to walk in, & he had chosē thē to walk in by waies, such as ỳ Lord forbad his people to walk in. And haue not you donne ỳ like? You were baptised in the right faith of Christ Iesus, which your Godfathers & your Godmother confessed, at ỳ time of your baptising, and desired (for you) that you might be baptised in that Fayth, which they did then confesse: And you were baptised in that fayth, and were named Samuel. But nowe, you are called Iohn Frauncis (as your selfe haue written) and therefore, I feare you haue renounced your first Baptisme, and haue bene rebaptized in the Romysh Catholike fayth: professing and promising to beleeue and to doo, all that, that Antichristian Church teacheth and commaundeth. You were brought vp in the knowledge of your duety towards God, and your duety towards man: but nowe you call that knowledge heresie, and such as haue bene your instructors therein heretikes. You haue, and doo styll refuse to heare the voyce of the Preachers of the Gospell of Christ, which are the true Prophets of this time: and your eares are open to the voyces of the preachers of poppysh ceremonies, fayned and false miracles, and all manner deuises of men, which are the false prophets of this time. You haue left the way of truth, wherein God requireth his owne people to walke, seruing him in spirite and truth, that is, in true holines & righteousnes: and you haue chosen to walke in by waies, euen such as the Lord hath forbidden his people to walk in. Namely the hearing of masses, and therein, gyuing diuine honour to creatures, that is, to bread and wine therein vsed, and holden vp and shewed, that they may be worshipped by such as be present. In kysing the Reliques of Saints, in the superstitious refrayning of the vse of Gods good creatures, wherein God hath giuen liberty to all men, that will reuerently vse them, and be thankfull to him for them. In making inuocations and prayers to Angels, & to deade men, such as be called Saints, not knowing whether they can hear you, or whether they can helpe you or no. In praying for the deade, not knowing whether they doo stand in neede of your praiers or no. Yea not knowing whether your prayers, may profite them or no. In honouring God and hys Saints by Images, directly contrary to hys expresse commaundement: Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen Image, &c. In bowing, & performing the vow of wyue-

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lesse chastitie, and yet with this caution. *Si non caste, tamen caute.* If not chastlie, yet warily. In performing the vowe of wilfull pouertie: and yet enioy all thinges necessary in great plenty. In taking vpon you ỹ yoke of obedience to such as God hath not commanded you to obey: but shaking of that yoke of obedience, that God hath layd vpon all mens neckes. Namely, to naturall Parents, Princes and al maner of Gouerners. In doing penaunce (as you terme it) by fasting bread and water, by dyning vpon the earth, by whypping your selfe, with a discipline of whypcords, or chaynes of wyar, or with pynnes of siluer, taking vpon you by these meanes to redeeme your owne sinnes, and the sinnes of others also. And so consequently, entruding your selfe into the Office of Christ, which is to be the onelie mediatour betwirt God and man, and the onely propitiator to obtaine mercy for the sinnes of the world. If you had considered these words of Ieremie, aright and as you shoulde haue done, applying them to your selfe (as I hope nowe you wyll do) then you would haue cryed with Ephraim (as I hope you will nowe crye) Turne me, and I shalbe turned, for thou art the Lord my God. And when the Lord shall turne you, as I hope he will at the last turne you, so that you shall from the bottome of your harte repent, that euer you left the highe way of righteousnes, to walke in these by wayes of wickednes: you will not (as you terme it) do penaunce, in whypping your selfe with your discipline (as you call your whip wherwith you haue giuē your self so many hundred lasshes) but you will submit your selfe vnder the mightie, and mercifull hand of our heauenlie father, to be chastined at his hande, according to his good pleasure, that by his fatherly corrections, you may be brought to see the greatnes of your owne folly, wherein you haue walked. And so with Ephraim, strike your selfe on the thigh, and say: I am confounded and ashamed. I haue borne the rebuke of my youth. And then vndoubtedly the Lord wil say of you, as he did of Ephraim. Is not Samuel a sonne that I make greate account of? Is he not a ladde in whom I am delighted? Sith I haue spoken of him, I wyll still remember him. And therefore the bowels of my mercy are bent towardes him. In pitty and compassyon I wyll haue mercie vpon him. Which God graunt for his mercy sake. Amen.

If you wyll not receiue this charitable admonition, and re-

ceiue againe and loue that trueth, from which you haue for a time bene turned away, and haue loued lyes more then the truth, yea and haue indede hated the trueth and loued lyes: I feare me that the threatning of the Apostle. 2. Thes. 2. wyll be fulfilled in you. *Ideo mittet illis Deus. &c.* God will therefore sende vpon them the strength of error, that they may giue credite to lyes, that all they may be condemned that haue not beleeued the trueth, but haue had pleasure in iniquity. Thys is ỳ horrible falling into the handes of the lyuing God that the Apostle speaketh of. Heb. 10. From which the Lord for his mercy sake deliuer both you and me. Amen.

You proceede in your purpose, and thus you say. But goe furder, and you shall heare our Sauiour himselfe, by his owne mouth, calling vs to penaunce, in the 13. Chapter of S. Luke, saying: *Si non feceritis pœnitentiam: omnes simul peribitis.* If you wyll not doo penaunce, you shall perish altogether. And heere you vse an exclamation. O what a dolefull sentence: you shall perish altogether. Let vs therefore cry with the Prophet Ieremie. &c. as before. But see howe you are deceiued, by giuing credite to such notes as you haue receiued at the hands of your Rhemists, and Romish Catholickes. I can not thinke that your selfe reading the wordes in Luke, the 13. Chapter, would haue set downe *simul* for *similiter*: as in thys your wryting you doo, and doo descant vpon it, noting the horriblenes of the sentence, and so consequently, the necessity of doing penaunce, to as many as be not willing to perish together. The wordes that the Euangelist writeth, were spoken by our Sauior himselfe. The occasion was, a report made vnto him, of the crueltye that Pilate vsed towards certaine of the Galileans. Doo you think (sayth our Sauiour) that these Galileans were greater sinners, then the rest of the Galileans were: I tell you no. But except you haue repentance, you shal all in like maner perish. And heere one other thing wherein your notes haue deceiued you. The text hath thus. *Sed nisi pœnitentiam habueritis.* But except you haue repentaunce. And you following your notes (as I suppose, for I can hardlie be perswaded, that seeing the text, you would so mangle it) doo set it downe thus. *Si non feceritis pœnitentiam:* If you doo not penaunce, you shall perish altogether. I would wyshe you therefore, to take good heede henceforth, how you trust the iudgment of thys Romish Catholike Church, that maketh no conscience thus to mangle

mangle the wordes of Christ himselfe, reported by his holy Euangelistes. But hetherto, you shewe your selfe to be perswaded, that you haue not without iust cause taken vpon you the life of a *Minime* Fryer. But howe well you haue proued this, by those Scriptures that you haue (for that purpose) alledged: I think your selfe dow nowe sæ, and are ashamed that euer you toke this enterprise in hande.

Thus much for annswere to that long discourse that you haue made, concerning your departing from your parents, and the maner thereof. Your long and laboursome trauell in Fraunce, before you could crœpe into the habite (or wœde as you terme it) of a *Minime* Fryer, and howe you behaued your selfe in all that wearysome trauaile. And last of all, howe happy a man you thinke your selfe to be, for that you are now wœded (as you terme it) with that wœde, and haue so played the part of a Nouice, that lyking, and being well liked of the Fryers of that Order, you are nowe a professed Fryer, and haue changed your name, and are no more called Samuell Debnam, but Fryer Iohn Frauncis, and therefore likelie so to liue during your naturall life.

But nowe we haue another Crowe to pull. You haue made a mervailous inuective against our Religion, with an earnest and pithy exhortation to your Parents, to forsake both our Religion and vs also. And last of all, a very Christian instruction (as you seeme to be perswaded) but indeede a very Antichristian direction, howe they may and ought to behaue themselues, in this case wherein they dow nowe liue, and are likely to continue. And thus you enter into this excellent pæce of worke.

The Fryar. Nowe, as concerning your Religion (whose foundation is the deuill of hell, hys Ministers beeing, *Tyndall*, *Fryth*, *Luther*, *Caluine*, *Beze*, *Zuinglius*, *Phillip Melanthon*, *Bucer Phagius*, *Oecolampadius*, and *Berengarius*, with others his Ministers, in England & els where. As *Crowley*, *Barber*, *Doue*, *Chark*, *Nowell*, *Mollins*, *Trippe*, and the rest, whose harts God turne, or cutt short theyr liues, to more speedy conuersion of our poore Countrey. These are they of whom the holy Apostle Saint Iohn speaketh of in his first Epistle Chap. 2. *Ex nobis prodierunt, sed non erant ex nobis: nam si fuissent ex nobis permansissent vtique nobiscum.* That is to say, they came from vs, but they were not of our com-

pany or ſociety. For if ſo be that they had beene of our company, they had certainly ſtayed with vs. It is euident that they came from vs, as not liking our kind of life. Some came from vs by reaſon of pryde, otherſome, by reaſon of deuilliſh ſuggeſtions. Againe, others becauſe theyr heades were full of fantaſies, as the heade or Maſter Fielde is, Who (yf the report that goeth of hym be true) is able to forge, euery halfe houre, a newe Religion. *Luther* was an *Auguſtine* Fryer: who after that he had left his Order, beganne hereſie. *Caluin* was a Cannon Reguler, and *Berengarius* was an Archdeacon. Whoſe liues and deathes, as alſo the lyues and deathes of the other Captaine Proteſtantes, if you knew thorowly, you would (as I hope) not onely wonder at their wilines, but alſo leaue their folly. But mine intention, is not at this preſent to write theyr behauiours, which (God wylling) ſhall be publiſhed in another page. Mine intention is onely, by the grace of God, to withdrawe and turne your hartes, from the beleefe of thoſe damnable hereſies which you holde, which I beſeeche God that I may performe for his names ſake.

Crowley. I would gladly ſtay my penne, from blotting my paper with bitter or oppꝛobꝛious woꝛdes, but (alas) I can not, foꝛ the fire of ʒeale towards Gods gloꝛy, is ſo kindled in myne harte, that I can not hold in, ſuch ſpæches as this blaſphemer deſeꝛueth. The ſpæches ſhall (I hope) be ſuch, and ſo vttered: that euen the blaſphemer himſelfe ſhalbe enfoꝛced to confeſſe, that the woꝛyter ſæketh nothing leſſe, then the pꝛiuate reuenge of ẏ pꝛiuate woꝛong that is doone vnto himſelfe. The open woꝛonge that is doone to Chꝛiſt, and to his bleſſed name and Religion, is it that moueth me to ſay (to this boy Fryer) as the Apoſtle Paule ſayd to Elymas the Soꝛcerer. Acts. 13. O thou child of the deuill, full of all guyle and diſceitfulnes: thou enemy of all righteouſnes, doſt thou not ceaſe to peruert the right waies of the Loꝛde? Take hæde (thou blaſphemer) of that which followeth in that text. Dareſt thou ſay, that the deuil of hel, is the foundation of Chꝛiſtes Religion? Thou calleſt it our Religion, becauſe we pꝛofeſſe it: and we acknowledg that in that meaning, it is ours indæde, & we are not aſhamed of it. But in thy meaning, we deny it to be ours, foꝛ wee are not the Authoꝛs of it. It is a reuerent feare and loꝛe towards the maieſtie of God, which the holy ſpirit of Chꝛiſt hath woꝛought in our harts,

harts: whereby we are moued to seeke to knowe his wyll, and to serue him according to his wyll. The foundation of this Religion, is the Law of God, and the Gospell of Christ. For the Lawe doth worke in vs feare, and the Gospell worketh loue. By the lawe, we are seruaunts, but by the Gospell we are children, that is, adoptiue sonnes and daughters, of God himselfe, and inheritors of hys kingdome, and heyres annexed with Jesus Christ, his onely begotten Sonne. This Law did God himselfe wryte, first in the hart of the first man, in his first creation, and after in Tables of stone, and deliuered the same to Moses, as his especiall and chosen Minister, that by his ministration, it might bee made knowne to his people, the posteritie of Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob. And the same Law, is by the finger of God written in our harts in our regeneration or newe byrth, wherein we are borne from aboue, by water, and by the holy Ghost: hauing receiued the spirite of Christ, which crieth in our harts to the heauenly maiesty, *Abba Pater*, Father, father. The Gospell also, was first preached to the first man, and to the first woman, when God himselfe said thus to the Serpent. I wyll put enmitie betwirt thee and the woman, betwirt thy seede and her seede, her seede shall breake thy heade. This Gospell was a gladde tydings to the first mã and his wife, and they both beleeued it, and by that beleefe, were they discharged of the sinne which they hadde committed, in tasting of the forbidden fruite, which S. Paul calleth Iustifying. And continuing in this beleefe, they had this promised seede Christ, their continuall Aduocate as we haue, so that, so oft as they did by frailty sinne, they did (as we do) by faith repare vnto him, and he was the propitiation for their sinnes, as he is for ours, when we repare vnto him by fayth. Christ Jesus therefore, is called, and is indeede. *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi*: That Lambe that hath beene slayne, euen from the beginning of the world. Apo. 13. This Gospell was continually preached, both before the Lawe written in Tables of stone, and also vnder that Law, by Sacrifice, as by shaddowes and figures. Heb. 10. as also by the ministry of the Prophets. But when Christ Jesus, which is this promised seede came: he preached this Gospell in his owne person first most plainlie, amongst them that were his owne peculier people. And after ward he preached it amongst the nations of the world, by the ministry of his Apostles or messengers. And thus the knowledge

hereof came to al Nations of the world. Amongſt whom the Grecians thought good to call this Goſpell (which in our olde Engliſhe was named Gods ſpeale, that is to ſay, Gods word) by the name *Euaggelion*, which name doth by interpretation ſignify, Gladde tydings. This Goſpell or Glad tydings (ſo called becauſe it doth aſſure vs of free pardon, and full forgiuenes of all our ſinnes by the onely mediation of our onely Mediator, Chriſt Jeſus) is that Goſpell that Chriſt Jeſus doth ſtyll preache amongſt vs by the miniſtry of them, whom you call Heretickes. Howe dare you now ſay that the foundation of our Religion is the deuill of hell? Is the deuill of hell, the Lawe and the Goſpell? But (for your recreation, as it may ſeeme) it hath pleaſed you to vſe the figure Parentheſis, and therein to ſet downe a long Regiſter of the names of ſuch as you call the deuils miniſters, to whom you wyſh, either conuerſion, or els ſpeedy diſpatch out of thys life. This petition may wee (with greater and more Chriſtian loue, both towards you and our Countrey) craue at Gods hand for you, and for all your ſocietye. You ſette downe our names very diſorderly, euen as they came to your troubled memory, or as ſome man had gathered them, and deliuered them to you in ſome torne peece of paper. It may be, that neither you, nor anie that hath giuen you inſtructions, did at any time knowe many of them whom you name, nor reade any thing written by them. And yet (like a bolde blinde Bayarde) you promiſe to write and publiſh their behauiours in another Page. You may (perhaps) doo it: but with as ſmall commendation, and as great ſhame, as others haue done before you. It is written to our comfort, that if ſuch as you, did call the good man of the houſe Belzebub: howe much more will ſuch call them of the houſholde ſo? It is one good ſigne that we be of the houſholde of Chriſte, when we be for Chriſtes cauſe, called as Chriſt himſelfe was, and by ſuch as called him ſo. Math. 10. The Phareſies, (your Anceſtors in hipocriſy) ſhamed not to ſay vnto him, euen to his face. Doo not we ſay well, in that we ſay thus. Thou art a Samaritan, and haſt a deuill. Iohn. 8. And ſhall we thinke much that you backbite vs, and in your ſlaunderous Lybels charge vs, with crimes, which you are not able to proue, more then the Phareſies could proue that Chriſt was a Samaritane, and had a deuill. For mine owne part (ſyr boy Fryer) make what report you dare, (better experi-

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ence you haue not had of any, for you haue bene in my house, and at my charges, a long seauen yeres) but take heede that your pen scribble no lye, in the report that you shall make of mee: for if you doo, I wyll (if GOD D gyue life and habilitie) so paynt you wyth my pensell, as you neuer painted your naked backe wyth your hipocrites discipline or whyp.

You apply vnto vs the saying of the holy Apostle S. Iohn, the first Epistle. Chapter 2. *Ex nobis prodierunt. &c.* If you be (as you say you are) a Papist of the society of Papists: then you apply that saying rightly to vs so farre forth, as that you say that wee came forth from you, and were not of you. But if that society of which you meane, be the Catholicke Church, whereof ỹ Church of Rome that was in S. Iohns time was a principall member: then that saying of S. Iohn can not be rightly applyed vnto vs, but to you. For not we, but you, are gone out from them, & were not of them. And we are gone out from you, and were not of you, for you are Antichristians, and we are Christians, as those Romaine were in the dayes of S. Iohn. But wyll you see what S. Iohn saith in the same Epistle. Cap. 4. Hee doth there teache you howe to knowe Antichrist, and so consequently Antichristians. *Omnis spiritus qui soluit Iesum, ex Deo non est, & hic est Antichristus, de quo audistis quoniam venit, & iam nunc in mundo est.* Euery spirite that loseth or dissolueth Iesus, or the Sauiour, (for so doth the name Iesus signify) is not of God, and the same is Antechrist, of whom you haue heard that he commeth, and he is euen nowe in the worlde. Who be they that may be sayd to lose or dissolue Iesus, (which is the Sauiour) but they which doo as you doo. That is, ascribe one part of your saluation to Iesus Christ, and another to your owne workes and merites? If you can find any better interpretation of this place, let vs at your leasure see it. If not, leaue your dissoluing of Iesus, and ioyne with vs in ascribing your whole saluation to the mediation of Iesus Christ as we doo. But perhaps, you wyll heere flee from your olde allowed translation, and for an aduantage take holde of the Greeke text, which is thus. Euery spirite that denyeth, or doth not confesse, that Iesus is come in the flesh, is not of God, &c. But what can that helpe your cause? Iesus Christe came in the flesh, that he might treade the wine presse of Gods wrath, alone, and not to haue any one to helpe him. Esay. 63. Hee came in

the flesh, that he might be wounded for our iniquities, broken for our great and wicked sinnes, that the correction wherby we might be reconciled myght fall vpon him, that we might bee made whole by the brusing of his stripes. Esay 53. Agayne, S. Paule 1. Tim. 1. Thys is a true saying, and mete to be receiued of all men, that Christ Jesus came into this world to saue sinners. And in Math. 1. Hee shall saue his people from their sinnes. And in S. Iohns Gospell. 1. Beholde him that taketh away the sinnes of the worlde. By all these places it is plaine, that whosoeuer ascribeth any parte of our saluation, to any other then to Christ Jesus alone, denyeth him to bee come in the flesh, and is of that Antichrist that S. Iohn speaketh of. 1. Epistle. 4. You are therefore Antichristians, and we are for good cause come from you, because we were not Antichristians, and therefore not of you. We are returned to that Romish Catholicke Church that was in Iohns time, from whom you came out, because you were not of them And we doo now beleeue, as they beleeued then. They beleeued then, that there is but one God that hath made all creatures, and him they glorifyed in the vse of hys creatures, and they gaue thankes to hym alone for those creatures, and studyed to serue him onely, in spyrite, and and with spiritual seruice, fleeing from the example of the Heathen Nations, that presumed to counterfayte his maiestie by Images. Rom. 1. And so doo wee. They beleeued and confessed that all men are sinners, and that man can not iustify himselfe before God, because no man can so keepe the Lawe but that his own conscience shall condemne him as a transgressor: & therefore, they dyd cleaue to the mercy of God, and so doo we. They beleeued that they were iustified (that is, discharged of their sinnes) freely by fayth, wythout the deedes of the Law: and yet they thought themselues bound to doo all that God had and should make them able to doo in obseruing and fulfilling the Law: and so doo we. Rom. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. They beleeued that God making choyse of them, had in mercy made them his owne children by adoption, inheritours of his kingdome, and heyres annexed with his onely begotten sonne Christ Jesus, and hereof they were assured by the spirit of Christ, which was gyuen to them, and cried in their harts *Abba Pater*, Father, Father: and so doo we. They beleeued, that this election and choyse was made, in the fore knowledge and purpose of GOD, before them

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ſelues were, and ſo conſequently, before they eyther had or coulde doo, good or euill: and ſo doo we. Rom.9. They beleeued, that as they were by free mercy of God, adopted, predeſtinated, called, iuſtified, and acquitted of their ſinnes, and in Gods predeſtination glorifyed, and made like to the Image of his onely begotten ſonne Chriſt Jeſus. Rom.8. So their duety was to be carefull to leade a righteous life before men, and not be bolde to commit ſinne, (becauſe God had in mercy diſcharged them of ſin) but to liue in awe, and a reuerent childlike feare of his iuſtice, as they that would ſhewe themſelues continually thankfull for his mercy, in making their owne bodies a Sacrifice to God, lyuing holy and acceptable vnto God, as their reaſonable ſeruing of God. Rom.10.11.12. And euen ſo doo wee. They beleeued that their duety was to ſubmytte themſelues, to all ſuch as God had ſette ouer them in authoritye, and to obey them, not onelie for feare of punishment, but for conſcience ſake alſo, knowing that whoſoeuer reſiſteth power, reſiſteth the ordinaunce of G O D, and doth purchaſe to himſelfe damnation. And they beleeued that their duety was to giue euery man his owne, and to vſe louing behauiour towards all men, knowing that loue is the fulfilling of the Lawe. And that beeing baptiſed they had put vpon themſelues Chriſt, and ought to walke and continue their liues in honeſty, not making prouiſion for the fleſhe, to ſatiſfy the luſtes thereof. Rom.13, and euen ſo doo we. They beleeued, that although God had gyuen them liberty in the vſe of al his creatures: yet their duety was to haue a continuall regarde to the infirmitie of their brethren, and not to vſe any of thoſe creatures to the offence of any of them. Rom.14.15. and euen ſo doo we. They beleeued, that they, together with all other Chriſtians els where, in any part of the worlde, were fellowe members of one bodye in Chriſt, and vnder Chriſt alone, acknowledging no vniuerſal heade of that body but onely Chriſt Jeſus alone. Rom.12. And euen ſo doo we.

Thus you may ſee, that we are not departed from the Catholicke Romaine Church, which was in the time of S. Iohn, but from you, that departed from them, more then 1000. yeares before this day. You put many of Gods creatures in the place of God, in repoſing truſt in them, in calling vpon them and crauing helpe at their handes, in rendring thankes vnto them, in honouring them,

in and by their Images, in seruing thē, and in consecrating daies, Temples and Altars to their honour. You presume vppon your owne power, as they that are able, either to fulfill the Law, or els hauing broken the Lawe, to satisfie to God for your sinne in breaking the Lawe, and to that end you fast from flesh, you goe and lye woolwarde, you rise at midnight, you sing mattins and masses, you whyp your selues with your disciplines or whyps, not following therein any commaundement of God, or example of good man. For where hath God commaunded men to refrayne the necessary and honest vse of his good creatures? And where hath he commanded men to be their owne tormentors? What one man or woman can you name, amongst the Patriarks, the Prophets, or Apostles, that tormented themselues, as you doo torment your selues, if your owne report be true? In the Lawe we reade, that if a man had deserued to be chastised with strypes, and were condemned by the Iudge to be chastised: yet the number of stripes might not in anie case exceede the number of fortie. Deut. 25. Chap. But you say that euery Frydaie, from our Ladie day in Lent, to May day, you doo whyp your selfe for your Parents sake, & doo gyue your selfe 400. stripes at euerie time (as I thinke) for you say it is an easye thing with you nowe, so to doo. Well, whyp on still, till you shal heare me say: whoe. And if you shall not haue whipping cheere enough at *Nigeon* in Fraunce, steppe ouer the water into Englande, and at your request, I wyll helpe you to some of our whypping cheere in Bridewel, where one lashe that our whypping Bedles doo giue, is worth a whole hundred of yours in *Nigeon*.

But to returne to our purpose. You say that we came from you, not lyking your kinde of life. It is very true, and so long as you leade such a kinde of life as you doo, which is hypocritically, wee minde neuer to returne to you againe. But where you doo charge vs with pryde, deuillish suggestions, and heades full of fantasies, I must vse an English prouerbiall speeche, and say: Take your selfe by the nose, and saie sole I haue caught thee. The harts of those men that you speake of, and are departed this life, were well knowne vnto God, & so are ours that doo yet remaine in this vale of misery. We shall be all iudged one day, by him that will iudge iustlie. And what art thou that iudgest another mans seruaunt? But heere (by the way) I must tell you of your ingratitude towards

wardes M. Fyelde, whose purse, penne and hand, haue béene helping to you, so that if you had regarded either christian duety or charitie, yea or ciuile honestie, you would not haue so harkened to a false report, that you would haue noted him before all others, for coyning of so manie newe Religions, where he neuer coyned any. Staie your stile therefore (I aduise you, yet once againe) and pester not that page that you threaten to publish, with lyes, eyther learned by report, or cast in your owne moulde. For if you doo: But hauing ended your long Parenthesis, you goe on with your matter, and saie thus: My intent is onelie &c. A pestilent intention. To withdrawe & turne the harts of your father & mother from the beléefe of the Gospell of Christ: (the word of saluation that is graffed into vs, and is sufficient to saue our soules) which you most blasphemouslie call damnable heresie. And for habilitie to bring this intended mischeefe to passe: thou (moste vile wretch) darest open thy most blasphemous mouth, to craue helpe at hys hande, that in iustice, may (yea must) and I doubt not, shortlye wyll, confounde thée and all such as thou art.

But nowe you goe lustily about your busines, and you gyue so fierce an assault, euen at the first, that you séeme to be perswaded, that you are in possession of the Forte, before you come in place where you may plant your batterie: yea and before you haue, or doo know how to come by, anie such péeces of Ordinaunce, as may be able to batter the walles and make them saltable. You say thus (to your Parents, I trow, for your Letters are directed to them.)

The Fryar. You say, that we are fooles to pray for the deade you denie good workes to be meritorious of our saluation, affyrming that by faith onely we are iustified. And which is most horrible, detestable, and abhominable. You vnshamefastly, and most irreuerently, deny the reall presence, of the moste precious bodye and blood of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ, to be in the blessed Sacrament of the Altare. You say that there be but two Sacraments. An heresye condemned long a goe. Many other opinions, not onelie foolish, but also execrable, and damnable you holde, which leade you the right way to eternall damnation in hell fire.

Crowley. Héere is a meruailous péece of Ordinaunce. Who could hope that a poore Showmaker and his wife, altogether vnlettered and vnlearned, and therefore naked and vnarmed, and

vnprepared to withstand so puissaunt an assaltant, as Frier Iohn Frauncis is: should not at the first summons, come forth, euen with Halters about their necks, and offer the keyes of their Forte to this valiant Captaine, and submit themselues to his mercy. Yea where shall we finde one amongst the learned on the Protestants parte, that dare encounter with this monstrous Golias, that hath so boldly defied the whole Armie of Israell? But least Frier Iohn should thinke that I write Ironice, I wil staie my stile for a space, that I may see how this couragious Captaine wyll enforce hys so sharpe an assault.

The Fryar. For the first, (sayth he) that is to say prayers for the dead: because you admit not the words which the holy Doctors of the Catholike Church haue spoken: I wyll turne you to the Byble it selfe. Which if you dare either plainly deny, or interprete falsely: you are nowe no longer heretickes, but playne Infidels. Looke therefore I beseeche you, in the 12. Chapter of the seconde booke of Machabees, towards the ende of the Chapter, you shall there finde, howe a Captayne of the Iewish Armie, named Iudas, made a collection of money to be offered at Ierusalem, for the sinnes of those Souldiours, which for a good and iust quarrell, were slayne in battaile. Furdermore, if you wyll take the paynes to reade the latter words of the same Chapter, you shall finde the conclusion of the same Chapter to be this. *Sancta ergo, et salubris est cogitatio, pro defunctis exorare, vt a peccatis soluantur.* It is (sayth he) therefore, a holy, and a wholsome thought, to pray for the dead, that they may be released from their sinnes. Tell me not nowe (I pray you) a tale of a tubbe, with a quote in the margnet, saying: That the foresayd place of holy Scripture, was not written by the holy Ghost. For if so be that you be come to that point, as to belye the holy Scripture, well may it be sayde of you, which is written by holye Esay, in his booke of prophecies. Chap. 6. *Aure audietis, et non intelligetis.* You shal heare with your eares, but you shall not vnderstande. Seeing you shall see, & shall not perceiue, for your harts are hardened. Wyth your eares you haue heard vnwillingly, and you haue bent downewardes your eye sight, least you shoulde peraduenture see with your eyes, heare wyth your eares, and vnderstand with your harts, and so being conuerted, God should heale you.

Crowley.

Crowley. In bewing the Forte of our fayth, you seme to haue determined to batter foure of the especiall Bulworkes thereof. Namely, the denyall of Prayers for the dead. The denial of works to be meritorious of saluation. The denyall of the reall presence of the body and blod of Christ in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar. And the denying that there be any moe Sacramēts then two. To batter these Bulworkes, you will not bring any Ordinaunce taken out of the Storehouse of the holie Fathers, but you wyll vse that great forcible Ordinaunce, that is to be had in the Storehouse of the holye Bible: and therewith you wil batter and beate down the strongest parts of our Forte of Faith. Against the first Bulworke, you plant a pece of Ordinaunce taken out of the 12. Chap. of the seconde booke of Machabees. Against the seconde Bulworke, 2. peces of Ordinaunce, one taken out of the Epistle of S. Iames, and the other out of the 25. Chapter of S. Mathewes Gospell. Against the third, you dō plant foure peces of Ordinaunce, one taken out of the 26. Chap. of S. Mathew, one other taken out of the 14. Chapter of S. Marke, the third out of the 22. of S. Luke. and the fourth you take out of the firt Chap. of S. Iohns Gospell. But against the fourth Bulworke, you bring no Ordinaunce at all, neither out of the Storehouse of the Bible, nor out of the Storehouse of the holie Doctors of the Catholicke Church. Onely you say, that it is an heresie condemned long ago.

But let vs see, of what force these peces of Ordinaunce be. The first seemeth a farre off, to be a double Cannon of great force. But at hand, it is founde to be but a sillie Base, embossed and made great, by cunning clowting together of Paste made of paper, in the forme of a double Cannon, with the colour of Brasse cunningly layde vpon it. Who would not thinke that this were a Cannon of great force, when he shall heare the Captaine himselfe say. I will turne you to the Bible it selfe: which if you dare either deny. &c. you shalbe no longer Heretickes, but plaine Infidels. Loke I beseche you. &c. A Captaine of the Iewish Armie made a collection &c. Yea, and the latter wordes of the Chapter, are these. *Sancta ergo & salubris est cogitatio. &c.* And tell me not nowe (I pray you) a tale of a tubbe. &c. Yea and last of all, well may it be saide of you, *Aure audietis & non intelligetis &c.* But let vs drawe nerer to this terrible pece of Ordinaunce, that we may see of what force it

is. Firſt, becauſe Fryer John doth charge vs, that we admitt not the wordes which the holy Doctors of the Catholicke Church haue ſpoken: I require him to reade that which S. Ierome hath written, in his preface vpon the bookes of Salomon, immediatly after thoſe wordes that I put you in minde of when I anſwered to that ſentence that you alledged out of the booke of Wiſedome, Chap. 11. S. Ierome writeth thus. *Sicut ergo Iudeth, & Tobiæ, & Machabeorum libros, legit quidem Eccleſia, ſed eos inter canonicas ſcripturas non recipit, ſic & hæc duo volumina legat, ad edificationem plebis: non ad authoritatem eccleſiaſticorum dogmatum confirmandam.* Euen as the Church doth (indeede) reade the bookes of Iudith and Tobias, and of the Machabees, but doth not receiue them amongſt ỹ Canonicall Scriptures, euen ſo ſhe may reade theſe two bookes (meaning the booke of Wiſedome and Eccleſiaſticus) to the edifying of the people, but not for the confirming of Eccleſiaſticall doctrine. Loe (Maſter Frier John) one of the holie Doctors of the Catholicke Church, hath tolde you, that this Scripture was not written by the holie Ghoſt, and yet I trowe you will not ſay that he hath tolde you a tale of a tubbe, nor that he hath belyed the holy Ghoſt, or that the ſaying of the holie Eſay, may be well applied vnto him. But if your ſelfe would vouchſafe to reade the laſt lynes of this ſeconde Booke of *Machabees*, I thinke you woulde not thinke this booke to be of ſuch authority as hetherto, you haue in theſe writings ſeemed to thinke. For in the wordes written in thoſe lynes, the author or writer of this booke, dooth ſhewe himſelf to be in doubt whether he haue done ſo well as himſelfe wiſhed to do: and in caſe he haue not done ſo well, he craueth pardon of his Readers, and vſeth a ſimilitude to perſwade him to pardon him. Which is a thing all together vnſeemely to be done by the holie Ghoſte. Yea I ſuppoſe your ſelfe woulde account it blaſphemie, in him that wold ſay, that the holy Ghoſt may doubt whether ought that he doth bee well done or not. And if you will take the paines to reade the latter part of the 14. Chapter of this booke, you ſhall finde there a great commendation giuen to one Razias, for that he murthered himſelfe, which commendation could not come from ỹ holy Ghoſt. For ſuch murder is not onelie contrarie to the expreſſe commaundement of GOD, but it is contrarie to nature alſo. Yea, and I do yet thinke, that though you do thinke, that you doo deſerue much

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at Gods hande by whypping your selfe with your discipline (as your selfe dw report) yet you are not perswaded that you shoulde deserue more, if either by whipping your selfe or otherwise, you shoulde kill your selfe.

Moreouer, if your selfe be not of that number that Esay the Prophet speaketh of in the firt Chapter of his booke (cited by your selfe) then there is hope that you will not sticke to reade, & weigh the circumstaunces of the place in the 12. of this second booke of the Machabees, that you dw so much vrge vs with. In the text that goeth immediatlie before that, which you dw beseeche vs to looke vpon: the Historian hath saide, that after the Armie of Gorsias was by the mighty power of God put to flight, Iudas (hauing gathered his Army together) came to the Cittie Odolla. And when the seauenth day was come, and they were purified according to the custome, they did in the same place spende the time of the Sabaothe. And the next day following, Iudas came with his company to take vp the dead bodies of them that were slaine, and to bury thē with their fathers, in the buriall places that belonged to them. And they founde vnder the garments of them that were slayne, certain of the gifts that had beene offered to the Idolles that were at Iamnia, from which the Lawe commaunded the Iewes to abstaine. It was therefore made manifest to all men, that this was the cause wherefore they were slayne. The whole company did therefore commende the iust iudgment of the Lord, which had made manifest the dedes that had beene hidde and kept in secrete. And so they gaue themselues to prayer, and besought God that the fault which was committed might be blotted out of memory. But the moste valiant man Iudas, exhorted the people to keepe themselues without sinne, hauing euen before their eyes, those things that had happened for the sinnes of those that were slayne. And hauing ended his Collation, he sent to Ierusalem, xii. thousande drachmas of siluer, that sacrifice might be offered for the sinnes of them that were deade.

Thus farre goeth the report of that which was doone by Iudas that Captaine of the Iewish Armie that you speake of. I haue taken this text out of the translation that is allowed by the decree of the Tridentine Councell, which translation, you may not disalow of, for if you dw: you shalbe amongst them that the fathers of that

Counsell haue Anathematized. Take hæde therefore, that you haue not offended already, in that you haue said, that the Captain made a Collection, where your text sayth, *facta collatione*. I know that our translators that haue translated into the English, haue layd as you haue done. Hauing made a collection of monye, sent it to Jerusalem. &c. In the Græke, the sence is vncertaine, and hard lie can there any perfect sence be gathered in this place. And this one thing I must note, that where this vulgare translation hath twelue thousande Drachmas, the Græke hath but two thousande Drachmas, which together with the rest of the circumstaunces of the text, do cause me to thinke, that Iudas nœded not to make any collection of mony to be sent to Jerusalem. For the summe bæing no greater, he might very well spare it out of his owne treasure (as it may be supposed.) Hauing therefore ended that Collation or concion which he made to his whole company of Souldiers that then were about him, (wherein he erhorted them, to consider of that which had happened, and to take warning thereby, to bee carefull to kæpe themselues from sinne, least the like shoulde fall vpon them also) he sent that summe of mony to Jerusalem, that Sacrifice might be offered there for the sinnes of them that were deade. Slayne (as you say) for a good and a iust quarrell, but the Historie saith, that the iust iudgment of the Lorde was executed vppon them, for that they had stolen and hidde vnder theyr Garments, thinges that hadde bœne offered to those Idolles that were at Iamnia, which was by the Lawe forbidden to be done. But what? would you haue vs to think (as it may sæme you do think) that Iudas Machabeus (bæing a man so precise in obseruing ỹ law of God, as in this History it appeareth that he was) would cause any newe kinde of Sacrifice to bæ deuised, or that he would cause any of those Sacrifices that Moses had by Gods direction commanded to be offered, to be vsed for any other purpose, then for those purposes that God himselfe had ordeyned them for? If you wyll reade the whole Leuiticall Lawe throughout, you shall not finde that euer God did commaunde any sacrifice to be offered for sinne other then that which is called a sinne offering: and was to be offered for penitent sinners, in such sort as the Law prescribeth, which was, in the presence of the penitent sinner himselfe, laying hys hand vpon the heade of the sacrificed beast, thereby signifying that

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it was he that had deserued that death, which the innocent beaste was then and there to suffer. The Sacrifice therefore which Iudas would haue to be offered at Ierusalem, must needes be of that kind which was called a peace offering, and was to be vsed for the pacifying of Gods wrath, which should at any time, by any occasion be bent, either against the whole people, or against any one sort of the people for any offence committed amongst them. Iudas therefore considering that GOD might in Iustice (as oftentimes he had doone) visite the sinne of the Fathers vpon the children, euen to the third and fourth generation, in them that in committing wylling and wilfull sinne, had shewed themselues to be haters of his Maiestie: feared least this iust iudgment shoulde be executed vpon such as remained yet aliue, and were of the posterity of them that were already slayne, for the wickednes that they had committed. The wryter of the Hystorie therefore hath done great wrong to Iudas, in that which he addeth to the ende of this hystory, bearing his Readers in hand, that Iudas meant to redeeme by Sacrifice, the sinne that the slayne had committed, and to teache, that to pray for the dead that they may be released of their sinnes, is a holy and an holesome cogitation. You must therefore prooue by other scriptures, more authentiall then this Scripture is, that you are wise in that you pray for the dead: otherwise we must say, as you say we do say, that you are fooles in deede. And persisting in that opinion that you holde, concerning the making of prayers for the dead, you will proue your selues to be wilfull fooles.

Thus you may (if you will) see of howe small force that peece of Ordinance is, that you haue brought out of the Storehouse of the Bible, planting it against that Bulwork of the Forte of our faith, wherein we stande at defence, denying that it is either necessary, lawfull, or meete for Christians, to make any prayers to God, for the soules of them that are departed this life. And herein we followe the example of the Patriakes, Prophets, Christ Iesus, hys Apostles, and the continuall vsage of Gods people, both before the Lawe written, vnder the Law, and vnder Christ, euen vnto thys day. If you, or any of your maisters, haue ought to say, out of your generall Counselles, out of your Schole Doctors, out of the corruption of Doctors (otherwise godly) or out of vsages that haue sprong vp in the time of deepe ignorance: let it be set forth at your

leasure: and you shall haue answere (by the helpe of GOD) as other your predicessors in Popery haue had. We do not denie but you may say much, but by the rule of the auncient Fathers, what soeuer shalbe affirmed, and not approued by the authority of the Canonicall Scriptures, may as easily be denyed, as it is affyrmed. Yea, S. Austen woulde haue no credite, further then he should prooue by the holy Scriptures, all that he should affirme.

The seconde Bulwarke, wherein we stande at defence, is, that we deny good workes to be meritorious to saluation: affyrming that by faith onely we are iustified. Against this, you bring two battery peces out of the Storehouse of the Byble. One of them is the Epistle of the holye Apostle S. Iames. And the other is, the wordes of our Sauiour Iesus Christe, written by the Euangelist S. Mathew, Chapter. 25. Both these bee double Cannons of great force. But hauing planted them against our Forte, and hauing gyuen fire to them with purpose to shake downe our walles, they recoyle in such sorte, that your selfe are in greater danger to be hurt by the shooting of them off, then we (against whom yee haue bent them) are. For what haue you in the Epistle of S. Iames, that you do thinke may annoy vs, or shake any part of our Forte? I suppose that you cannot finde any words in that Epistle, that are more forcible then these are. *Quid proderit fratres mei, si fidem quis dicat se habere: opera autem non habeat? nunquid poterit fides saluare eum?* What shall it auayle (my brethren) if a man shoulde say that he hath fayth, and yet hath no workes? do ye think that faith can saue him? And againe. *Sic et fides, si non habeat opera, mortua est in semetipsa.* Euen so faith also, if it haue not workes, it is dead in it selfe. And againe. *Abraham pater noster, nõne ex operibus iustificatus est: offerens filium suum Isaac super altare?* Abraham our Father, was he not iustified by workes, when he offered Isaac his sonne vpon the Altare? And againe. *Videtis, quoniam ex operibus iustificatur homo: et non ex fide tantum.* You see, that man is made righteous by workes, and not by faith onely. Iames. Chap. 2. I am sure that these be the places that you your selfe would picke out of S. Iames Epistle, as sentences that in your iudgement do make most against that which we beleeue and confesse, which is. That workes be not meritorious to saluation. Nowe let vs consider of these sentences, that we may see whether they be likely to make a-

gainst

gainſt vs, or againſt you. For the firſt, we ſay (as S. Iames doth) that if a man ſhall ſay that he hath faith, & yet hath no dædes, that ſaying ſhall profite him nothing at all. For although hee do ſay that he hath fayth, yet he hath it not indæde. For faith can no more be without good workes, then a good tree can be without good fruite. The good tree is neuer without good fruites, either *Actu* or *Potentiâ*. that is, either in acte or in power. Euen ſo faith, is neuer without good workes, but hath them in power euen when ſhee ſeemeth to be moſt barren and vnfruitfull, and when occaſion ſerueth, ſhee bringeth them forth, that all men may ſee them, and be aſſured that ſhe is the ſame faith that S. Paul wrote of to the Galathians. *Fides quæ per dilexionem operatur*. Fayth that worketh by loue.

To the ſeconde ſentence, we ſay as S. Iames doth alſo. That is, that fayth which hath no workes, is deade in it ſelfe. You of your ſorte, can ſometimes take holde vpon diſtinctions, when they hope to haue any aduantage thereby againſt vs. but in the vnderſtanding of the meaning of S. Iames in this place, they can not ſee any diſtinction of fayth at all. No not though the text do giue them neuer ſo great occaſion to vſe a diſtinction. Your Schoolemen can tell you, that *Fides* is *Triplex*. Fayth is of three ſortes. *Hiſtorica*, *Ciuilis*, and *Eccleſiaſtica*. The Eccleſiaſticall Faith is that wherby we are aſſured of the goodnes of our Godtowards vs, whereby we are made his children by Adoption inheritours of his kingdome, and heyres annexed with the onely begotten ſonne of God, Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. And wherby we are aſſured of the continuance of his fatherly goodnes towards vs, in the performance of all his promiſes made vnto vs. Yea, and by this faith we receiue good giftes from him, in ſuch quality, number and meaſure, as he knoweth to be meeteſt for vs, ſo that therby we are made able to perſeuer and continue, in ſeeking to ſet forth his glory, and in ſome meaſure to ſet it forth in dæde, euen to the ende of this our tranſitorie life. Moreouer, by this faith, we do certainly know theſe thinges, to the knowledge whereof, mans reaſon could neuer bee able to attaine or reache: as the miſtery of the creation of all creatures, the miſtery of the incarnation of our Sauiour Chriſt, the miſtery of our redemption by him, the miſtery of our Reſurrection. &c. This fayth is it, that S. Iames ſayth, wrought together wyth Abrahams

wozkes, and brought forth in him obedience to God, when he commaunded him to offer vp his sonne Isaac vpon the Altare: so that nowe he was made righteous before men, as he was before righteous before God in that he beleeued, and was assured of the performance of that promise that God had made vnto him. Thys fayth is alwayes linked with loue, and wozketh by loue, as S. Paule wryteth in the fifte Chapter to the Galathians: and is therefore all in all (as S. Paule wryteth there) and without it, nothing can auayle vs. When we therefore do say that wee are iustified by Faith onely, our meaning is, that onely Faith is the meane, wher by we do apprehend the righteousnes of Christ, which is by the free gyft of G O D bestowed vpon such as be faythfull, according to that which S. Paule wryteth 1. Cor. 1. *Ex ipso autem vos estis in Christo Iesu: qui factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, & Iustitia, & sanctificatio, & redemptio.* And by him are you in Christ Jesus, whom God hath made, our wisedome, our righteousnes, our sanctification and redemption. Hauing this righteousnes, which is in Christe, we are in him righteous before God. But lacking this righteousnes (which without this Faith, we can not haue) neyther Ciuill nor Historicall fayth can helpe vs. For by them, we can be but righteous before men. The Ciuill fayth can bring forth none other righteousnes then that which is Ciuill, and so make vs such as the Philosophers were, and no better. And by the Historicall fayth, we can not be better then are the deuils, in whom that faith bringeth forth, an horrible feare of iudgment, which must nedes be ioyned wyth hatred. So that they which haue none other fayth but that, must nedes hate God, as the deuill doth. We do therefore conclude with S. Iames, that man is iustified by wozkes, and not by fayth onely. By wozkes was Abraham iustified before men, when his fayth had brought forth her fruite, which was obedience to the commaundement (Take thy sonne Isaac. &c.) which obedience sprang out of that Fayth that S. Paul wrote of, Rom. 4. *Qui contra spem, in spem credidit*, which beleeued in hope, euen contrarye to hope. Thus was *Abraham* made righteous before men (as S. Paul hath written) and was declared, and made knowne to men by hys obedience, which was the good fruite that his good Fayth brought forth. If you lyst to appose your selfe against S. Paule you may, and in the ende haue the foyle. S. Iames doth not, but meaneth

meaneth to moue Christians, not to make an account of any other fayth, then that which worketh by loue. We will hold with Saint Iames, and not oppose our selues against S. Paul with you. We doo see that these two Apostles, being ledde by one spirit of Christ, agree in one. Although Paule doo say: *Arbitramur enim, iustificari hominem per fidem, sine operibus legis.* We suppose that man is iustified by Fayth, without the deedes of the Law. Rom 3. And the other sayth. *Videtis, quoniam ex operibus iustificatur homo, & non ex fide tantum.* You see that man is iustified by workes, and not by faith onely. Iames. 2. We doo rather thinke those to be anathematized of your holy father, the Popes holines, and of all those fathers that were gathered together in the Tridentine Councell, then of father Paul, (whose holines doth surmount the holines of your holy father, the Popes holines.) Father Paul hath written thus in his Epistle to the Galathians. Chap. 1. *Licet nos, aut Angelus de cœlo euangelizet vobis præterquam quod euangelizauimus vobis: Anathema sit.* Although I my selfe, or an Angel from heauen, should preache vnto you anie other Gospell, then that which I haue preached vnto you: holde him accursed. The Gospell that S. Paul had preached to the Galathians and others, was (and is) the Gladtydings of free iustification or discharge of all their sinnes, onely by the mediation of our onely Mediator, our Lord & Sauior Iesus Christ. Take heede (Fryer John) that you be not within the reache of this Anathematization, if you be, 4000. whyskes with your whip, will not brushe it away from your naked and scrunie shoulders. I terme them scruny, because I suppose, that whipping your selfe so often and so sore (as in your Letters you haue reported) the skynne of your shoulders and backe can not be without skabbes.

Well, let vs nowe consider your other peece of Ordinaunce, which is a part of the xxv. Chapter of S. Mathewes Gospel. First you haue sayd thus.

The Fryar. As concerning your opinion, that by fayth onelye we are iustified: I referre you to the Epistle of the holye Apostle S. Iames, as also to those words of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, written in the Gospell after S. Mathew, Cap. xxv. Where it is written, that our blessed Sauiour Iesus Christ, in the latter day giuing the finall and euerlasting sentence (as well vnto the saued as vnto the damned) shall vtter these wordes. *Venite benedicti patris mei*

&c. That is to ſay. Come ye bleſſed of my father, and poſſeſſe the kingdome prepared for you, from the beginning of the worlde. Nowe, hauing ſpoken theſe wordes, he ſheweth the cauſe of thys ioyfull ſentence. For (ſayth he) when I was hungry, you fed mee, when I was a thyrſt, you gaue me to drinke, when I was naked ye clothed me: but what are theſe things if they be not good workes? Therefore, and by this place of Scripture, good workes are meritorious to our Saluation. Reade likewiſe (I pray you) the ſecond Chapter of the Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Romaines, a little way of from the beginning. You ſhall there finde, howe God will reward all men according to their workes. The ſame alſo, if you wyll ſearch, you ſhall find, in the xvi. Chap. of S. Mathew, and in many other places of the Scripture. I doo not conclude by theſe partes of the Newe teſtament, that by good workes onely wee are ſaued, but mine intention is to proue, that neither by faith without good workes, nor by good workes without fayth, we are iuſtified or ſaued.

Crowley. As I haue erplaned vnto you, the meaning of the Apoſtle Iames in that which he wrote touching the iuſtifying of men by workes, in ſuch ſort (I hope) that your ſelfe doo ſee that you are much deceiued in your iudgment, touching the meaning of the Apoſtle: So I hope I ſhall erplane the meaning of our Sauiour Chriſt, in the wordes which you cite out of the xxv. Chapter of S. Mathewes Goſpell. And firſt, becauſe you haue ſaid before, that we admitte not the words of ỹ holy Doctors of the Catholicke church. I wyll let you ſee certaine words that one of them hath written, euen vpon theſe very wordes ỹ you haue cited out of the xxv. Chap. of S. Mathewe. *Iohannes Chryſoſtomus, Homelia 80. in Mat.* Iohn Chryſoſtome in his 80. Homelie vpon S. Mathewes Goſpell, hath written thus. *His igitur rationibus, & iſti non iniuria puniuntur: & illi etiamſi mille talia fecerint, per gratiam tamen coronantur. Gratiæ namq; omnino illa benignitas eſt: vt pro rebus minimis, & viliſſimis, cœleſte regnum, & tantus honor tribuatur.* That is to ſay. For theſe cauſes therefore, both the one ſort, are without iniury puniſhed, and although the other ſort haue done a thouſand ſuch workes, yet it is by frée mercy that they are crowned. For that bountifulneſſe whereby the kingdome of heauen, and ſo great an honor is gyuen, for the ſmalleſt and moſt vils thinges, is altogether of frée mercy.

Thus

Thus hath Chryſoſtome wrytten, as the concluſion of all that he hath written before in commendation of thoſe that feede the hungry, giue drinke to the thirſty, clothe the naked. &c. and in diſcommendation of them that leaue thoſe workes vndone. The one ſort (ſayth he) that is (they which leaue thoſe works vndone) are iuſtlie puniſhed: And the other are crowned, and yet not for the worthines of the workes, although they worke them neuer ſo often: but that bountifull liberality, (wherby the kingdome of heauen, and that great honour of being crowned in that kingdome, are gyuen, for ſo ſmall and vile matters as our workes are) commeth altogether of Gods free mercy, and not of any worthines, that eyther is or can be in vs, or in any workes that we can worke. This Chryſoſtome is (not onely in this part of his wrytings, but in all his workes) a very earneſt mayntainer of the merites of good workes, and yet ſee howe he concludeth. In this concluſion, he ioyneth with vs, and we ioyne with him.

We holde, that good workes, ſuch as GOD hath commaunded, and prepared for vs to walke in, are acceptable in the ſight of God, and that God doth and wyll reward them both in this lyfe, and alſo in the life to come. And we craue of GOD that we may kéepe ſtill in minde the wordes of the Apoſtle. Heb. 13. To do good and to diſtribute, forget not, for with ſuch ſacrifices God is well pleaſed. Yea, we craue of God, that we do neuer forget the ſaying of the Apoſtle Paule to Timothe. 1. Chap. 4. *Exerce teipſum ad pietatem, nam corporalis exercitatio, ad modicum vtilis eſt: pietas autem ad omnia vtilis eſt. Promiſſionem habens vitæ quæ nunc eſt, & futuræ.* Exerciſe thy ſelfe to godlines (ſaith S. Paul) for bodily exerciſe, is profitable but to a ſmall matter, but godlines is profitable to all thinges. Hauing a promiſe of the life that nowe is, and of the lyfe that ſhall be. Thys we holde, this we teache, and this we are willing to practiſe. And for a further explanation of the meaning of Chryſoſtomes concluſion aboue mentioned: marke (I pray you) what he wryteth in his 53. Homelie, to the people of Antioche. *Omnia quæ facimus, agimus debitum implentes: proper hoc & ipſe dicebat. Cum omnia feceritis dicite, quia inutiles ſerui ſumus: quæ enim debebamus facere, fecimus. Igitur, ſiue charitatem exhibuerimus, ſiue dederimus pecunias egenis, debitum implemus: non tantum quoniam a beneficijs ipſe cepit, verum & quoniam ipſius bona diſtribuimus, ſi cuncta*

erogemus. All that we dw (sayth Chrysostome) we dw, as satisfying or paying our debt: wherefore he himselfe also (that is Christ) did say. When you shall haue donne all, say thus, We are vnprofitable seruaunts, for we haue donne those thinges that we ought to dw. Therefore, whether we shall shewe charity, or whether wee shall giue money to the nedy, we dw discharge our debt, not onely because he did first beginne to bestowe benefites vpon vs, but also because we dw but distribute his goods, although we bestow al that we haue. No man can write more plainly or pithily, for confirmation of that which we holde concerning the meriting by workes, then thys Chrysostome hath donne in these two places. Thus you may see, if you be wylling to see, that the holy Doctors of the Catholicke Church, are not so contrary to vs in iudgment, as you haue perswaded your selfe that they be: but when their workes bee thorowly reade, and the scope and purpose of their writings, thorowly weyghed and considered, they are found to be of a iudgment contrary to yours, and be of one iudgment with vs. You alledge these wordes of our Sauiour Christ, as a declaration of the cause of our saluation. For you say, hauing spoken these words, *Venite benedicti patris mei &c.* Come ye blessed of my Father &c. He sheweth the cause of this ioyfull sentence &c. If you had sayde, he sheweth a cause your speeche might haue beene suffered. For our feeding of the hungry, giuing of drinke to the thyrsty, clothing of the naked, our harbouring of the harbourlesse &c. are a cause of thys ioyfull sentence. For they are *Causa sine qua non.* A cause wythout which this ioyfull sentence shall not be pronounced. To them onelie that haue donne these deedes, it shalbe sayd. Come ye blessed of my father &c. But sith you say he sheweth the cause, your meaning must be, that these workes are the efficient cause of this ioyful sentence. Which meaning is contrary to the definition or description of an efficient cause: which is, *A quo primo fit motus.* That is, The thing that maketh the first mooning. That is to say, the thing that doth principally or cheefely worke ỹ making of another thing. And the efficient cause in giuing of this ioyfull sentence, is by S. Chrysostome affirmed to be the free mercy of God. For in hys 80. Homely vpon Mathew (whereof I haue made mention) he sayth: *Per gratiam tamen coronantur: Gratiæ namque omnino illa benignitas est.* Although they in whose fauour this ioyfull sentence shalbe gyuen,

men, haue done a thousande such workes, yet they shalbe crowned through free mercie: for that bountifull liberality, is altogether of free mercy. When you haue said he sheweth the cause, you say, that he sayth thus. For when I was hungry, you fedde me, when I was thirsty ye gaue me to drink, whē I was naked, you clothed me: but what are these thinges, if they be not good workes? Therfore, and by thys place of Scripture, good workes are meritorious to our saluation. If you coulde proue, or if we would yelde vnto you, that these good workes were the efficient cause of the giuing of this ioyfull sentence (which neither is confessed by vs, nor can be proued by you,) then might your conclusion be allowed of, in the Scholes amongst Schollers. But seing that all men which haue knowledge to discerne one cause from another, must needes confesse, that these workes be but *Causa sine qua non*. A cause without which that ioyfull sentence shall not be giuen: your argument is as good as this argument is. *Baculus stat in angulo. Ergo Deus non est in cœlo.* The staffe standeth in the corner: Therfore God is not in Heauen.

From this place of S. Mathewes Gospell, you sende vs to the seconde Chapter of S. Paule to the Romaines, a little way of from the beginning of that Chapter, where you say we shall finde, howe GOD wyll reward all men according to their workes. And you say furder, that if we will searche, we shall finde the same most euidently, in the xvi. of S. *M*athewes Gospell, and in many other places of holie Scripture. You might very well haue spared this labour. For we knewe before you were borne, that, both in those places that you name, and in many other places of holy scriptures, it appeareth euidently, that God will giue vnto all men (or as you terme it, reward all men) according to their works. But what can you conclude vpon this? Shall we therefore say that workes are the efficient cause of our saluation? your selfe do deny it. For you say thus. I do not conclude by these parts of the New Testament, that by good workes onely we are saued: but mine intention is to proue, that neither by faith without good workes, nor by good workes without faith, we are iustified or saued. Here you haue flatly denied, that which you haue before, as flatly affyrmed. For before you haue sayd, that our Sauiour Christ sheweth the cause of the ioyfull sentence, which he shall giue when he shal say:

Come ye blessed of my Father. &c. Wherein you affirme (as before I haue proued) that the good workes that our Sauiour maketh rehearsall of, are the efficient cause of gyuing that sentence, and so by good consequence of our iustification or saluation. And nowe you say that you conclude not so, but that good workes and faith together, are the efficient cause of our iustification or saluation. For so men of your sorte do meane, by that manner of speeche, that you do vse heere, when you say, by workes or by fayth.

But we haue another meaning of that speeche, as I will (by Gods helpe) let you vnderstand. When S. Paul sayth thus. Rom. 3. *Arbitramur enim iustificari hominem per fidem, sine operibus legis.* We suppose that man is iustified by faith without the deedes of the Lawe. His meaning is, that faith is the instrument ỳ God vseth in making vs righteous. Gods free mercy is the efficient cause, and our faith is the instrumentall cause of our iustification. So that God doth make vs righteous, by that fayth that himselfe hath wrought in vs by the word of his Gospell, which is, *Virtus Dei in salutem omni credenti.* Rom. 1. The power of God, to saluation, to euery one that beleeueth.

Thus we may see that the word of the Gospell, is the instrument that God vseth in making vs faithfull, and faith is the instrument whereby he maketh vs righteous. *Fides ex auditu: auditus autem per verbum Christi.* Rom. 10. Fayth commeth by hearing, and hearing commeth by the worde of Christ (or as the Greeke hath it, of God.) So that the worde that is preached, and the Preacher that preacheth, are Gods outward instruments, which he vseth in working fayth in the hartes of the hearers. And in this meaning S. Paul writeth thus to Timothe. 1. Tim. 4. *Attende tibi & doctrinæ insta in illis. Hoc enim faciens: et teipsum salum facies, et eos qui te audiunt.* Take heede to thy selfe, and vnto doctrine: be instant or earnest therein: for in doing this thing, thou shalt saue thy selfe, and them that heare thee. Heere we see that Timothe being careful in loking to hys owne lyfe, and to the soundnes of his doctrine, and being earnestly bent to teache both by good example of life, and by sownde doctrine, is by S. Paule sayd to be, the sauiour of himselfe and of them that heare him. And yet it is manifest, that he was neither the sauiour of himselfe, nor of any other, but an instrument that God vsed in working saluation, both in himselfe and in other. Because that by his carefull diligence in loking to his owne lyfe

and

and sowndnes of doctrine, and by his earnestnes in preaching the same, fayth was begunne, and increased in his hearers, and continued and confirmed in himselfe. Which fayth, both in him & in his hearers, layd holde vpon, and held fast ỹ mercifull promise of God, made in the mediation of the onely Mediator betwixt GOD and man, euen the man Christ Iesus our Lorde. 1. Tim. 1. And so bothe Timothe, hys hearers, and all the rest, that haue bene, are, or shalbe by Gods good meanes made faithful, are by Gods free mercy saued: according to the saying of the Apostle to the Ephesians. Cha. 2. *Gratia enim estis salnati per fidem : et hoc non ex vobis. Dei enim donum est : non ex operibus, vt nequis glorietur. Ipsius enim sumus factura, creati in Christo Iesu ad opera bona, quæ preparauit Deus, vt in illis ambulemus.* By Grace are you saued, through fayth, and that not of your selues, for it is Gods gyft : not of workes least any man shoulde boaste. For we are hys workmanshyppe, created in Christ Iesus vnto good workes, which God hath prepared, that we shoulde walke in them. And to the Rom. 9. Chapter. The Apostle sayth thus. *Non volentis neq; currentis : sed miserentis est dei.* It standeth neyther in mans willing, nor in mans running, but in the mercy of God. It seemeth to me a strange thing, that any man (professing the Religion of Christ) dare conclude (as you dw) so directly contrary to the expresse wordes of the Apostle Paule. You say in your conclusion, we are iustified or saued, by fayth & good works together. S. Paule sayth. We suppose that man is iustified by fayth without the dedes of the Lawe. Nowe, if you can tell vs of any dedes, ỹ are of more force to make vs righteous before God, then the dedes that God hath commaunded in his Law: then haue you sayd somewhat, although but a little. For those dedes must be dedes commaunded of men, whereof the Prophet Esay writeth thus. Chap. 29. Their feare towards me was taught by the precepts of men : therefore, beholde, I wyll take in hand to worke a strange worke, that shall be a miracle, and an astonishment to this people : For wysemen shall lose their wisedome, and vnderstanding shalbe hydde from the prudent. I would wysh you to weighe well these wordes of the Prophet Esay, and to consider whether they be not already verified in you, and in men of your sorte. Consider also what our sauiour Christ addeth to these wordes. Mat. 15. In vayne dw they worship me, teaching the doctrines and commaundements of men. Whereby we are admonished, that it is

but lost labour, for a man to goe about to be made righteous before God, by such workes, as men dow or can deuise and commaund. S. Paule to the Ephe. 2. sayth: That through fayth wee are saued by free mercie, and that not of our selues. For it is the gyft of GOD, and commeth not of workes, least any man might haue any occasion to boast: and how dare any man conclude (as you dow) that faith and workis coupled together, may make vs righteous before God. I dow therfore conclude, according to ỹ true meaning of the wordes of our sauiour Christ, the Prophet Esay, and the Apostle Paul, that neither the workes that God hath commaunded, nor the workes that men haue deuised, or can deuise and commaund, yea or ỹ faith that God hath, doth or shall worke in the harts of men, either bee, or can be, the efficient cause of mans righteousnes or saluation. But the free mercy of God onely, is the alone efficient cause, that hath wrought, doth and shall worke, saluation in the faithful onelie and in none other. In whom he himselfe worketh faith, that by that fayth they may laie hold vpon, & holde fast that saluation, that in free mercy he doth, and will freely bestowe vpon them. And furder I conclude, that though the workes that GOD hath prepared for the faithfull to walke in, neither be, nor can be, the efficient cause of saluation, yet they are *Causa sine qua non*: that is, a cause that must be founde in them, to whom it shalbe sayde. Come yee blessed of my Father &c. so that they that shall heare that ioyfull sentence, must hunger and thirst after righteousnes of life, all the dayes of their life. And vse that faith that GOD hath wrought in them, in laying holde vpon, and holding fast, that righteousnes that God hath in free mercy bestowed freely vpon them, hauing a continuall care to shewe themselues thankfull to him for the same, by walking in those good workes that hee hath prepared for them to walke in.

Nowe for the meaning of those places that you direct vs vnto, namely, the 2. to the Romans, the 16. of S. Mathew, and many other, wherin we may by search find, how God will reward al men according to their workes: I say thus. I could by ỹ knowledg that God hath giuen me, answere you sufficiently. Yet because my wordes be of small credite with you, I will answere you by the wordes of a holy father of the Catholicke Church, whose wordes (I hope) you will admit, and giue credite to them (although, as I

confes-

coniecture, you be not much acquainted with them) S. Augustine writeth thus. *Quod est ergo meritum hominis ante gratiam, quo merito accipiat gratiam: cum omne meritum nostrũ, non in nobis faciat nisi gratia. Et cum Deus coronat merita nostra, nihil aliud coronet, quam munera sua?* What is the merite of man before, whereby he may receiue grace: seeing that nothing but grace doth worke in vs all our merite? And when God doth crowne our merits, he crowneth none other thing but his owne gifts? Thus writeth S. *Augustine* Tom. 2. Epistola. 105. And againe in his 7. Tom. in the 7. Chapter of his booke *De gratia & libero arbitrio*, he wryteth thus. *Si ergo Dei dona sunt bona merita tua: non Deus coronat merita tua, tanquã merita tua, sed tanquam dona sua.* That is, If therefore thy good merites be the gyfts of God, then dooth not God crowne thy merites as thy merites, but as his owne gifts. And agayne in hys eyght Tome. vpon the Psalme, 98. *Exaltate dominum Deum nostrũ. Verè exaltate, Benè exaltate. Laudemus & exaltemus, qui fecit ipsam iustitiam quam habemus, ipse in nobis fecit. Quis enim in nobis fecit ipsam iustitiam: nisi qui nos iustificauit? De Christo autem dictum est: qui iustificat impium. Nos ergo impij, ille iustificator: quando et ipsam iustitiam ipse in nobis fecit, qua illi placeamus, vt ad dextram nos ponat, et non ad sinistram, vt dicat ad dextram positis, venite benedicti patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est, ab initio mundi, non autem ponat ad sinistram inter eos quibus dicturus est. Ite in ignem æternum, qui paratus est diabolo & angelis eius. Qui in nobis coronaturus est, non merita nostra, sed dona sua: quantum debet exaltari?* That is to say: Gyue great prayse to the Lord our GOD. Gyue him great praises indeede. Praise him aright. Let vs lawde and prayse him, which hath made that righteousnes that we haue. He hath wrought it in vs. For who hath wrought in vs that righteousnes, but he that hath iustified vs? And it is sayde of Christ, that he iustifieth the vngodly. We therefore are the vngodly, and he is the iustifier: seeing that he hath wrought in vs that righteousnes, whereby we might please him, so that he might place vs at his right hand and not at his left hand, that he might say vnto vs being placed at his right hand: Come ye blessed of my father, receiue the kingdome that was prepared for you, from the beginning of the worlde.

Not that he might ſette vs at his left hand, amongſt thē to whom he ſhall ſay: Goe into fire euerlaſting, which was prepared for the deuill and hys angels. Howe greatly ought he to be prayſed, that ſhall crowne in vs, not our merites, but his owne gyfts? Againe, the ſame Auſten, writeth thus in the ſame Tome, vpon ỹ Pſalme 102 *Qui in nobis victi ſumus, in illo vicimus. Ergo coronatte, quia dona ſua coronat, non merita tua.* We that in our ſelues are ouercome, haue in him gotten the victory. He crowneth thē therfore, becauſe he crowneth not thy merites, but his owne gifts. But to put you out of all doubt, concerning ỹ meaning of al thoſe places ỹ you ſend vs to, ſēe what ſaint Auſten writeth in his forenamed Epiſtle. 105. *Stipendium, inquit peccati, mors. Rectè ſtipendium, quia debetur, quia digne retribuitur, quia merito redditur. Deindè, ne iuſtitia de humano ſe extolleret bono merito, ſicut humanum meritum malum non dubitatur eſſe peccatum, non a contrario retulit dicens: ſtipendium iuſtitiæ vita æterna, ſed gratiâ, inquit, Dei vita æterna. Et hæc ne præter mediatorem aliqua alia via quæreretur, adiecit, in Chriſto Ieſu Domino noſtro. Tanquam diceret, Audito quòd ſtipendium peccati ſit mors, quid te diſponis extollere? O humana, non iuſtitia, ſed nomine iuſtitiæ planè ſuperbia, quid te diſponis extollere, & contrariam morti vitam æternam tanquam debitum ſtipendium flagitare? Cui debetur vita æterna, vera iuſtitia eſt. Si autem vera iuſtitia eſt, ex te non eſt. De ſurſum eſt, deſcendens a Patre luminum, et haberes eam (ſi tamen habes eam) profectò accepiſti. Quid enim habes quod non accepiſti? Quapropter, O homo, ſi accepturus es vitam æternam: iuſtitiæ quidem ſtipendum eſt: ſed tibi gratia eſt, cui gratia eſt & ipſa iuſtitia. Tibi enim tanquam debita redderetur: ſi ex te tibi eſſet iuſtitia, cui debetur.*

That is to ſay: Death (ſayth he) is the hyre that is due for ſinne. It is rightly called a ſtipend or wages, becauſe it is due, becauſe it is worthily payde, becauſe it is payd as a thinge deſerued. Moreouer, that righteouſnes might not extoll it ſelfe for the good deſerning of man: he hath not ſhewed, that as no man doubteth ſinne to be the euill deſert of man, ſo on the contrary he ſayth not, that life euerlaſting is the hyre or wages of righteouſnes, but he ſaith, life euerlaſting is ỹ frē mercy of God. And (leaſt ſome other way beſide ỹ Mediator ſhould be ſought for) he addeth theſe wordes. In Chriſt Ieſus our Lorde. As though he ſhould ſay, why doſt thou prepare to extoll thy ſelfe, when thou heareſt that death is the reward

ward or wages due to sinne? Oh thou humane (not iustice or righteousnes, but in very deede, pryde, vnder the name of Iustice) why dost thou prepare to extoll thy selfe, and to require or clayme, as a stypende due vnto thee, that euerlasting life, which is contrary to death? That righteousnes wherevnto life euerlasting is due, is that which is the true and right iustice. And if it bee the right iustice, then it commeth not of thee It is from aboue, and commeth down from the Father of lights, that thou mightest haue it. And yet if thou hast it, vndoubtedly thou hast receiued it. For what hast thou that ỹ hast not receiued? Wherefore (O ỹ man) if thou shalt receiue eternall life, it is in deede the wages or hyre of Iustice, but vnto thee it is free mercy, vnto whom, euen iustice, or righteousnes it selfe, is free mercy. And if thou haddest of thy selfe, righteousnes, wherevnto it is due, then shoulde it be giuen to thee, euen as being due vnto thee.

If I were not perswaded that these words of saint *Austen* are sufficiẽt to perswade any reasonable mã, that life euerlasting, neither is nor can be deserued (eyther in whole or in parte) by anye workes that haue beene, or can be wrought by man: I coulde (and would cite many moe sayings of thys holy Father, as effectuall as these, and tending as fully to this purpose, and some like sentences out of the wrytings of other holy fathers also. But I am assured, that although it be a thing impossible to perswade some of your sorte, yet these, and such sentences of this holy father, shall stoppe the mouthes of you all, when you shall come in presence of such as do know them, and be able to vrge them, against that filthy doctrine of humayne merites, that is so stoutly maintained by you.

But nowe to conclude thys matter, let me moue one question to you, which you may aunswere at your leasure. If all were true that you haue written, touchiug the cause of that ioyfull sentence that our Sauiour shall giue in the last day. Come yee blessed &c. For when I was hungry you fedde mee, when I was a thirst you gaue me to drinke, when I was naked you clothed me. &c. I pray you what shall be sayde then to you that are *Minime* Fryers, and all others that are altogether vnable eyther to fede or clothe others, or themselues? shall not the contrarye sentence (trowe you) be gyuen agaynst such? Goe ye cursed into euerlasting fire, prepared for the deuill and his angels. For I was hun-

gry, and you fedde me not. I was thirsty, and you gaue mee no drinke. I was naked and you clothed mee not. &c. Beléeue me (Fryer Iohn) if those wordes that you cite out of the 25. of saynt Mathewe, should meane, as by your writing you séeme to vnderstand thē: the case of you, & of al such, as dō either by vow or otherwise, make thēselues vnable to dō those good workes ý you speake of, shalbe very hard. Your voluntary vowe wil not then excuse you. In the 7. Chap. of S. Mathew, our sauiour Christ sayth. *Discedite a me omnes qui operamini iniquitatem.* Depart from me all ye ý worke iniquity: and dō not you worke iniquity. When you (hauing receiued from God good gifts, by the vse whereof you might be able to fede and clothe your selfe, and to helpe to fede and cloth others) haue bounde your selfe by a vowe, to leade such a kynde of life, that of necessity, you must either be fedde and clad by others, or els perish by the lacke of thinges necessary: Dō not you worke iniquity, when you dō not onely robbe your naturall Parents, your Prince and Countrey, of that helpe that both by the Lawe of nature, and by the Lawes of God and of your Countrey, all these ought to haue at your handes: but also of that relefe, helpe and seruice, which all these might and ought to haue out of the labours of others, but are (by your hypocriticall meanes) drawne from them that you may be thereby maintained in idlenes? I knowe, that such as haue not such gifts, or be by any meanes naturall, or casuall (as we may terme it) made vnable, both to helpe other & themselues, must be sustayned by the labour of others: and shall not be reiected, as they that dō not fede and clothe Christ in his members, but yet so that they haue mercifull hartes, and dō pitty the case of the needy, when they shall sée them in misery. But this is not your case. Take héede to your selfe in time (Fryer Iohn) for I feare there is no place in heauen for purgatory Fryers.

And thus much for that great double Cannon, that you haue brought out of the 25. of saynt Mathewes Gospell, with the reste that you haue tolde vs of, and we haue viewed and séene. The recoyle of them hath hurte you much more then the shott hath anoyed vs. Nowe let vs sée, what great Ordinaunce you haue bent agaynst that Bulworke of ours, wherein we stande and denie the reall presence of Christ, in the blessed Sacrament of the Altare. Thus you say.

The Fryar.

The Fryar. Nowe, as touching that which you deny, concerning the reall preſence, in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altare: Looke I pray you in the xxvi. of S. Mathewe, where theſe wordes are written. *Cænantibus autem eis, accepit Ieſus panem et benedixit, ac fregit, deditque diſcipulis ſuis, & ait, Accipite, & commedite. Hoc eſt corpus meum &c.* That is to ſay, why leſt the reſt were at Supper: Ieſus tooke breade, bleſſed it, and brake it, and gaue it to his Diſciples and ſaide. Take and eate, this is my body. The ſame altogether we reade in the 14. Chapter of the Goſpell of S. Marke, ſauing onely that he ſayth: *Sumite hoc eſt corpus meum*, where as the foreſayd Euangeliſt ſayth *Accipite & commedite.* Agayne, in the 22. Chapter of S. Luke, we reade the ſame, in wordes as it ſeemeth more plaine, then the before written words are. For hee ſayth, *Accepto pane, gratias egit, et fregit, et dedit illis dicens. Hoc eſt corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur: Similiter & calicem poſtquam cænauit dicens. Hic eſt calix nouum Teſtamentum in ſanguine meo, qui pro uobis fundetur.* The Engliſh of theſe Latine wordes is thys. Ieſus Chriſt hauing taken bread, gaue thankes and brake it, & gaue it to his diſciples ſaying. This is my body. In like manner alſo, the chalice, after that he had ſupped, ſaying: This chalice is the newe Teſtament in my blood, which ſhalbe ſhedde for you. Or as Saint Marke in his Goſpell ſayth: *Accepto calice. &c.* That is to ſay, Hauing taken the chalice, he gaue it to his diſciples ſaying. Thys is my bloud of the *N*ewe teſtament, which ſhalbe ſhed for many. Thus you ſee, howe that all the three *E*uangeliſts agree in thys poynt: howe that our bleſſed Sauiour, gaue to his diſciples in hys laſt ſupper, his moſt precious body and bloude. I haue not ſhewed this vnto you by the ſayings of holie doctors, but by the wordes of our Sauiour himſelfe, vnto the intent that you may beleue me. We reade in the 6. Chapter of the Goſpell after S. Iohn, how that our Sauiour endeuouring to bring the hard harted Iewes vnto the knowledge of his diuinitie, ſpake theſe wordes. I am the bread of life, which came downe from heauen. If any body eate of this breade, he ſhall liue for euer: and the bread which I wil giue, is my fleſh for the life of this worlde. Againe in the ſame Chapter. If you eate not the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and drinke hys bloude, ye ſhall not haue life in you. Verely, verely, I ſay vnto you, he that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, ſhall haue

lyfe euerlasting: and I wyll rayse him vp from death in the latter day. You say the contrary nowe, you make God a lyer, you say that he gaue them not his body, but onely breade, which is fully contrary to the foresayd texts of Scripture.

Crowley. These foure double Cannons, that this valiant Captayne (Frier Iohn) hath planted against ỹ Forte of our faith, are of exceeding great force, but he hath so ouercharged them, that when he shall put fire to them, they must of necessitie recoyle with such force, that the Captaine with all his company, are like to bee in verie great daunger. For off, they will not goe against our Forte: and breake they can not. Yea, we are in good hope, that we shall haue such ayde at the hands of S. Austen and his companie, that this great Ordinaunce shalbe turned against the whole Armie of the Romish Catholickes, and shotte of so freshlye, that they shall hardlie escape the losse of the Romane honour for euer. And first let vs see what may be done with the first of these Cannons, called *Canãtibus autem eis. &c.* Whylst that the rest were at supper. &c. S. *Austen* in that booke that he wrote against *Adimantus*, and in the 12. Chapter of that booke, wryteth thus. *Non enim dominus dubitauit dicere, hoc est corpus meum: cum signum daret corporis sui.* The Lord (sayth S. *Austen*) did not doubt to say, this is my bodie: when he gaue the signe of his body. If there were no more but this one place of S. Austen: it might suffice for the torning about of these foure peeces of Ordinaunce, and the making of them ready to be shot off against Frier Iohn and his fellowes. For the force of them all consisteth in this one assertion. When our Sauiour Christ tooke breade, and gaue thankes (or blessed) and brake it, and gaue it to his Disciples, saying: Take, eate, this is my bodie. He did deliuer vnto those Disciples his owne body. And when he did after supper take the Cuppe (or Chalice) saying, this Chalice is the Newe testament in my bloud. &c. He did deliuer his owne bloud. Which thing S. Austen denieth, when he saith. The Lorde doubted not to saie, this is my bodie, when he deliuered the signe of his body. For the signe, and the thing signified are *Disparata*, thinges seperated the one from the other. The thing therefore that is the signe of another thing, can not (by anie meanes) be that thing whereof it is a signe. As the Ruie or other matter, that is hanged out to be a signe of Wyne to be solde, can in no case be

sayd

saide to be that Wine that is to be solde, but a signe thereof onely. Yea though wine indede, were setforth to be a signe of wyne to be solde: or breade indede were set forth to be a signe of bread to bee solde: yet that wine and that breade could not rightly be sayd, to be the same wyne or bread, that is to be solde, whereof that wyne or breade so set forth is but a signe. And yet, neither S. Austen nor we, do denie, but that the name of the thing signified by a Sacrament, may be giuen to the Sacrament, because Sacraments haue a certaine similitude of those thinges whereof they be sacraments. S. Austen writing to Bonifacius, Epistola. 23. saith thus. *Si enim Sacramenta, quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent; omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine, plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundũ quendã modũ, sacramentũ corporis Christi, corpus Christi est, et sacramẽtũ sanguinis Christi, sanguis Christi est: ita sacramentũ fidei fides est &c.* If sacraments had not a certaine similitude of those thinges whereof they be Sacraments: they were indede no Sacraments. And of the same similitude, they do, for the most parte take also the names of those thinges, whereof they be sacraments. Therefore, as after a certaine manner, the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, and the Sacrament of the bloude of Christ, is the bloud of Christ: euen so, the sacrament of fayth is fayth &c. Thus you may see, and as I thinke, you do see, that these words, This is my body, do not proue any other presence of Christ in the Sacrament, then that which may be called sacramentall, mysticall, heauenly, and spirituall. And to make this matter more plaine vnto you: I wyll let you see certaine places of Scripture, where the like speeche is vsed, and in the like meaning. Ezechiell the Prophet, is commaunded to shaue of the hayre of his heade and beard, to deuide it into three equall partes &c. As it is written in the fift Chapter of his booke of Propheties: and then to say. Thus sayth the Lord God. This is Jerusalẽ. &c. By the circumstaunce of this text, it is manifest, that the meaning of that sentence (This is Jerusalem) was not, that the doing of those thinges that there were done, was the Citty Jerusalem really, but that the miserable estate of that Cittie was signified thereby. In the 12. Chapter of Exodus, concerning the eating of ý Pasouer it is written thus. After this manner ye shall eate it. Ye shall gyrde vp your loynes,

and ye shall haue your shoes vppon your feete, holding staues in your handes, and you shall make hast in eating of it, for it is *Phase id est transitus domini*. That is, the Lordes Passouer, or passing by of the Lord. These wordes are not the wordes of Moses, but of God himselfe, spoken by Moses at the commaundement of God. Neuer did any man (as I thinke) conceiue any such opinion of these wordes, as you and your sort do shewe your selues to haue conceiued, of those wordes that our Sauiour Christ spake at his last supper, which you woulde haue to be of such force, that whensoeuer they shalbe breathed out (by anie of your Priestes) ouer breade and wyne (*Cum intentione conficiendi*, as you haue it in the cautiles of your masse: that is with purpose or intent, to make the bodye of Christ) then of necessity the substance, both of the breade and of the wyne, must be turned into the substaunce of the body and bloud of Christ. And whosoeuer shall deny this: must needes be accounted as one that maketh God a Lyer. Agayne, in the 15. Chapter of S. Iohns Gospell, *Ego sum vitis vera & Pater meus agricola est*. I am the true or right vyne, and my father is the husband man, or vine tyllar. And in the same Chapter. *Ego sum vitis, vos palmites*. I am the vine and you are the braunches. And in the tenth Chapter of the same Gospell. *Ego sum ostium*, I am the dore. *Ego sum Pastor bonus* I am the good shæpheard And in the 14. Chapter. *Ego sum via*, I am the way. In all these spæches, you are contented to admit a figure, and to confesse that the spæches are figuratiue. But in *Hoc est corpus meum*, Thys is my bodie, you may not abide to heare of any figure at all. And why? Because the admitting of a figure there, wold marre all your market. All your Cloysters of Monks, Chanons, Fryars, Nunnes, Colliges of Cannons and massing Priestes, Chauntries, Obbets, Anniuersaries, Trentalles, Monthes mindes, and masses of *Requiem* are builded vpon thys foundation. *Hoc est corpus meum*. This is my bodie, in plaine spæch without any manner of figure. But if you once admit a figure in that spæche, downe goe all these goodly buildinges, and Frier Iohn Fraunces and his fellowes, must learne to eate their breade in the sweate of theyr owne faces, as other poore men do. You must stick to it therefore, and tell these hereticke Protestants, that in denying the Reall presence in the blessed sacrament of the Altare, they make God a lyer. We denie not, but do confesse, that the breade

and

and the wyne in the Sacrament of the body and bloude of Chriſte, are the body and bloud of Chriſt, euen as the Paſcall Lambe was the paſſing by of the Lorde, as the Rocke in the Wyldernes was Chriſt, (*Petra erat Chriſtus*, The Rocke was Chriſt, ſaith Saint Paule, 1.Cor 10) and as the ſeauen ſtarres (ſpoken of in the firſte of the Reuelations of S. Iohn) are the ſeauen Angels of the ſeauen Congregations. And as ỳ ſeauen golden candleſticks are ỳ ſeauen Congregations. Yea we ſay with ſaynt Paul. 1 Cor. 10. *Calix benedixionis cui benedicimus: nonne communicatio ſanguinis Chriſti eſt? Panis quem frangimus: nonne participatiò corporis Domini eſt?* The Cuppe (or as you call it, the Chalice) that we bleſſe: is it not the Communion of the blood of Chriſt? The bread that we breake is it not the partaking of the bodye of the Lord? *Quoniam vnus panis, & vnum corpus multi ſumus. Omnes quidem de vno pane, & de vno calice participamus.* For we being many, are but one loafe of breade, and one body. And we dō all take part of one loafe of bread and of one cuppe. If you therefore would deny, that the Sacramentall cuppe is the Communion of the blood of Chriſt, or that the ſacramentall breade is the partaking of the bodie of the Lorde: we would ſay that you dō lie, and dō make the Apoſtle Paule a lyar, and ſo conſequently. God himſelfe, for the ſpæche that Paule vſeth, is not his, but Gods that ſpake in him. We dō beleeue, that the body and bloud of Chriſt, are giuen, taken, eaten, and drunken of the faithfull in the Lords ſupper, after a heauenlie and ſpiritual manner: but yet verily and indeede. Yea, and that faith is ỳ meane whereby the bodie and bloud of Chriſt are receiued in the Supper. All this we beleeue and confeſſe: and your ſelfe (Frier Iohn) had once learned this, and did confeſſe it in my Church without Creplegate of London, before many witneſſes. You dō vs open wrong therefore, in that you ſay that we make God a lyer, and ſay that he gaue not his body to his diſciples, but bread onely, which is fully contrarie to the foreſaid texts of Scripture. And as touching the ſentences that you cite out of the firſt Chapter of S. Iohn, we acknowledge Chriſt to be that bread that came downe from heauen. And that whoſoeuer ſhall eate of that bread ſhall liue for euer. And he that eateth not the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and drinketh not hys bloud, ſhall not haue life in himſelfe. But he that eateth the fleſh of Chriſt and drinketh his bloude, ſhall haue life euerlaſting, and Chriſt will rayſe him vppe in the latter day. But heere you

muſt gyue vs leaue to ſaie as S. Auſten doth, and we muſt requeſt you to thinke no worſe of vs then you do of him, ſo long as we ſhall ſhewe our ſelues to be of one minde with him. For hee is a Catholick doctor, and I thinke you do take him ſo to be. If we therefore, ſhall ſhewe our ſelues to be of one minde with him: I hope you will take vs for Catholickes alſo. Firſt I muſt tell you, that in the place that you cite, the words be thus. *Ego ſum panis viuus*, and not *panis vitæ*. That is the liuing bread, and not, the bread of life. I note this, becauſe the meaning of our Sauiour Chriſte was (as you haue ſaid) to bring the Iewes to the knowledge of his diuinity, by conſidering that the Manna which fell from heauen (and was accounted to be the bread of life) was not that liuing bread, that liueth and hath life of it ſelfe, and is the fountaine of life to al liuing creatures: ỹ they might be occaſioned to ſæ, that the Manna was to the Fathers, as our Sacrament is to vs, a viſible ſigne, repreſenting vnto thẽ this liuing bread, as our Sacrament doth repreſent the ſame vnto vs. Concerning this matter, ſaynt Auſten writeth thus, in his 26. treatiſe vpon the Goſpell of ſaint Iohn. *Patres veſtri Manna manducauerũt, & mortui ſunt: nõ quia malũ erat Mãna ſed quia male mãducauerũt. Hic eſt panis qui de cœlo deſcẽdit. Hunc panẽ ſignificauit manna. Hunc panẽ ſignificauit altare Dei. Sacramẽta illa fuerũt, in ſignis diuerſa ſunt, ſed in re que ſignificatur paria ſunt. Apoſtolũ audi. Nolo enim vos inquit, ignorare fratres, quia patres noſtri omnes ſub nube fuerũt, & omnes mare trãſierũt, & omnes per Moſen baptizati ſunt, in nube, & in mari: & omnes eandẽ eſcã ſpiritualem manducauerunt. Spiritualem vtiq; eandẽ, nam corporalem alterã: quia illi Manna, nos aliud ſpiritualem vero ĩquam nos. Sed patres noſtri, non patres illorum, quibus nos ſimiles ſumus, non quibus illi ſimiles fuerunt. Et adiungit. Et omnes eundem potum ſpiritualem biberunt. Aliud illi, aliud nos, ſed ſpecie viſibili quidem, tamen hoc idem ſignificante virtute ſpirituali. Quomodo enim eundem potũ? Bibebant inquit, de ſpirituali ſequẽte petra, petra autem erat Chriſtus. Inde panis, inde potus. Petra Chriſtus in ſigno: verus Chriſtus, in verbo & in carne.* That is to ſay. Your Fathers did eate Manna and are deade: not becauſe Manna was an euill thing, but becauſe they did not eate it aright. This is the bread that came downe from heauen. Manna did ſignifie this breade. The Lordes Altare did ſignifie thys breade. Thoſe thinges were Sacraments: in ſignes they be dyuers,

uers, but in the thing that is signified they are alike. Gyue care to the Apostle. For he sayth, Brethren, I would not haue you ignorant, that all our Fathers were vnder the Clowde, and that they did all passe thorow the Sea, and that they were all baptized by Moses, in the clowde, and in the Sea, and that they did all eate one and the same spirituall meate. The same spirituall meate indede, for the corporall was another, for they did eate Manna, and we an other thing: but the spirituall was the same that we do eate. But these were our Fathers, not theirs. They to whom we are like, not they to whom they were like. And he addeth to this. And they did all drinke of one spirituall drinke, but in the visible kind, they did drinke one thing and we another, and yet signifying the selfe same thing in spirituall vertue. But howe was it the same drinke? They dranke (sayth he) of ỹ spirituall Rocke that followed them, and that Rocke was Christ. Hence was the bread, and hence was the drinke. In a signe, the Rocke is Christ, but Christ indede, is in the word and in the flesh.

Can any man wryte or speake more plainly on our side in this matter, then S. Austen hath done in these wordes that I haue here cited? Doth he not plainly affirme, that the Manna was to the faithfull Fathers in the wildernes, euen the selfe same thyng that the sacramentall bread in the Lordes supper is to vs nowe? And that the Rocke in the Wildernes, was vnto them, the same thing that the cuppe in the Lords supper is vnto vs nowe? And what? wyll you haue vs to grant you a reall presence of Christes bodie and blode in the Manna and in the Rocke? And howe can you then require vs to grant it, in the sacramentall bread & wine? S. Austen sayth, that they and we differ not in the thing signified, although we differ in the signes. Their signes were Manna and the Rocke, or water that ishewed out of the Rocke, and our signes are the Bread and the Cuppe, or the wyne vsed in the Lords supper. But the spirituall meate and drinke, that both they and wee do eate and drinke, is the very body and bloud of Christ, that innocent Lambe that hath bene slaine for the sinnes of the world, euen from the beginning of the world. And to giue vs occasion to consider, that not euery one that receiueth the Sacrament, doth also receiue the body and bloud of Christ. S. Austen sayth thus. Our Fathers, not their Fathers. They to whom we are like, not they

to whom they were like. That is to say, the faythfull. not the vnfaithfull, did then, and do nowe eate the body, and drinke ỹ bloode of Christ our Sauiour.

But wyll you see more out of S. Austen, in the same 26. treatice vpon Iohn. *Qui manducat carnem meam, & bibit meum sanguinem: in me manet et ego in illo. Hoc est ergo manducare illam escam, & illum bibere potum: in Christo manere, & illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc, qui non manet in Christo & in quo nō manet Christus: proculdubio, nec manducat spiritualiter carnem eius, nec bibit eius sanguinem, licet carnaliter, & visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis & sanguinis Christi: sed magis tante rei sacramentū, ad iudicium sibi manducat & bibit.* He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my bloode, dwelleth in me and I in him. To eate that meate (therefore) and to drinke that drinke, is this. For a man to dwell in Christ, and to haue Christ dwelling in him. And hereby it appeareth, that who so dwelleth not in Christ, neither hath Christe dwelling in him, the same (no doubt) doth neither eate his flesh (spiritually) nor drinke his bloude, although he do, fleshly and visibly, presse with his teeth, the Sacrament of the body and bloude of Christ: but rather he doth eate and drinke the Sacrament of so excellent a thing, to be a condemnation vnto him self.

Thus you may see (Master Fryer Iohn) how rashly you haue written, in that you haue sayd thus. If any bodye eate of this breade (meaning I am sure of that Sacrament that is kept ouer your high altar) he shall liue for euer. And the bread that I wyll giue is my flesh, for the life of this worlde. You say, If any body eate of this breade &c. S. Austen sayth. No body but such as dwell in Christ, and haue Christ dwelling in them, eyther do or can eate the flesh of Christ, but do by the receiuing of the Sacrament of so excellent a thing, eate and drinke to their owne condemnation. Nowe, I leaue you, to try this matter with S. Austen. If you can entreate him to recant: so it is. If not, your best way is, to recant your selfe. And yet one other sentence of S. Austen in the same treatice vpon Iohn. *Nonne buccella dominica, venenum fuit Iudæ? & tamen accepit, & cum accepit, inimicus in eum intrauit: non quia malum accepit, sed quia bonum, male malus accepit.* Was not the Lords soppe, a poysonne to Iudas? and yet he receiued it, and when hee receiued it, the enimie entred into him: not because he receiued

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an euill thing, but because he being euill, did receiue a good thing, after an euill sorte. Much more might be saide to this effect: but I leaue you as I sayd before.

As touching the other sentence that you cite out of this 6. of S. Iohn, which is thus. If you do not eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blode, you shall not haue life in you. I would wyshe you to loke on that which S. Augustine wryteth, in the 16. Chapter of his third booke, *De doctrina christiana. Nisi manducaueritis, inquit, carnem filij hominis, & sanguinem biberitis non habebitis vitam in vobis. Facinus vel flagitium videtur iubere. Figura est ergo, præcipiens passioni dominicæ esse communicandum, & suauiter atque vtiliter recondendum in memoria: quod pro nobis caro eius crucifixa & vulnerata sit.* Except (saith he) you shall eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, you shall not haue life in you. He seemeth to commaund an heynous or horrible fact. It is therefore a figure, commaunding that we should be partakers of the Lordes passion or suffering, and that we should swetely, and profitably, laie vp in memory, that his flesh was crucified & wounded for vs. Immediatly before these wordes, S. Augustine hath written thus, *Si præceptiua locutio est, aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut vtilitatem, aut beneficentiam iubens: non est figurata. Si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur iubere: aut vtilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare figurata est.* If the speche be a commaundement, that forbiddeth an heynous or horrible fact, or that commaundeth profitablenes or beneficence, then the speche is not figuratiue. But if it be a speche that seemeth to commaunde an heynous or horrible fact: or to forbidde profitablenes or beneficence, then it is a figuratiue speche.

By this Rule, all these places that you haue alledged out of the 26. of S. Mathew. The 14. of S. Mark The 22. of S. Luke, & the 6. of S. Iohn, are figuratiue speches For vnderstanding them after the Letter, as you doo: they seme to commaund an heynous and horrible fact, that is. To eate the flesh, and to drinke the bloude of a man. But taking them for figuratiue speches (as we do, and as they are indede) they do commaunde a very profitable thing, that is, (as S. Austen hath saide) to be partakers of the passyon or suffering of the Lord, and swetly, and profitably to lay vp in memory that his flesh was crucified and wounded for vs. If you haue not

bolwed, neuer to reade ought, that either is or can be written by anie of vs that are Protestants: or if you will with a dutifull reuerence, reade the workes of thys auncient and learned Catholick Father saint Austen, I doubt not but that you wil eare long time be past, doo as the Prophet Ieremie writeth of Ephraim, in the 31. Chapter of his prophesies (which place you haue cited for another purpose) that is, strike your selfe vpon your thigh and say. I am confounded, I am ashamed, that euer I went out of England, following the counsell of a blinde ghostlie father. When that blind bussarde had abused my tender yeares, and had put into my heade, that I had beene brought vppe in heresie: I might haue imparted this with my gray headed instructors, which had beene able to instruct me, as nowe one of them hath doone. If our mercifull father shall see that in you, that he did then see in Ephraim: vndoubtedlie this wyll come to passe, to the great ioy of them that yet loue you in the Lorde, to your endlesse saluation, and to the confusion of that Antichristian swarme, amongst whom you doo nowe lyue. Amen.

But to gyue you yet a further occasion to consider better of your reall presence, I wyll let you see somewhat more, out of this auncient Fathers writinges, and out of the wrytings of some others, more auncient, and some not so auncient. First, S. Austen wrytting vpon the 98. Psalme, sayth thus: *Spiritualiter intelligite quod locutus sum. Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendaui: spiritualiter intellectum vinificabit vos.* Understande spiritually, that which I haue spoken. You shall not eate that bodie which you doo see: neither shal ye drink that bloud, which shall be shedde by them that shall crucifie me. I haue commended vnto you a certaine Sacrament, which being spiritually vnderstanded, will quicken you.

Basilus Magnus (somewhat more auncient then Austen) doth shewe himselfe to be of this minde. That whatsoeuer may be really present, in moe places at once then one, is no creature, but is God in nature. To prooue the holy Ghost to be God, he wryteth thus: *De spiritu sancto.* Cap. 22. *Angelus qui astitit Cornelio, non erat in eodē tempore etiam apud Phillippū. Neq; qui ab altari Zachariā alloquebatur: eodem tempore, etiam in cœlo, propriam sedem ac statio-*

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nem implebat. At verò ſpiritus, ſimul in Abacuc & in Daniele in Babilonia operari creditus eſt. Et in Cataracta cum Hieremia eſſe dictus eſt. Et cum Ezechiele in Chobar. The Angell that ſtode before Cornelius, was not at the ſame time with Phillip alſo. Neither did he, that from the Altare ſpake vnto Zacharie, at the ſame time occupie his owne place and order in heauen. But we beleeue, that the holy Ghoſt did at one time, worke in Abacuc and in Daniell, beeing in Babilon. And it is ſayde that he was with Ieremie in the dungion, and with Ezechiell in Chobar. Baſill thought this ſufficient to proue the holy Ghoſt to be God. And ſhall not we thinke then, that you affyrming, the body of Chriſt to be really preſent in the ſacrament, do affyrme it to be God, becauſe it is preſent in ſo many places at once, and ſo deny it to be a creature? But ſee what another Father (more auncient then Baſill) dooth ſaye to thys matter.

Origen wryting vpon the 25. Chapter of S. *Mathewe*, ſayth thus: *Secundum hanc diuinitatis ſuæ naturam, non peregrinatur, ſed peregrinatur ſecundum diſpenſationem corporis quod ſuſcepit.* As touching this his diuine nature, he is not gone into a ſtrange Countrey, but concerning the diſpoſition of that bodie which he hath taken vpon him, he is gone into a ſtrange Countrey.

S. Auſten, wryting to Dardanus. Epiſtola. 57. ſayth thus. *Cauendum eſt enim, ne ita diuinitatem aſtruamus hominis, vt veritatem corporis auferamus.* For we muſt take heede that we do not ſo ſet vp the diuinitie of the manhode, that we take away the truth of the bodie. Theſe wordes of ſaint Auſten are plaine enough, and yet to make them more plaine, he addeth. *Vna perſona Deus & homo eſt, et vtrũq; eſt, vnus Chriſtus Ieſus. Vbiq; per id quod Deus eſt, in cœlo autem, per id quod homo.* One perſon, is both God and man, and bothe theſe is one Chriſt Ieſus. In all places in that he is GOD, but in that he is man, he is in heauen.

In his 30. treatice vpon ſaynt Iohns Goſpell, S. Auguſtine wryteth thus, *Corpus domini in quo reſurrexit, in vno loco eſſe oportet: veritas eius vbiq; diffuſa eſt.* The Lordes bodye wherein he aroſe, muſt be in one place: but hys trueth is ſpread abroad in euery place.

S. Ambros alſo, wryting vppon ſaynt Lukes Goſpell, hath theſe wordes, Lib. 10, capit. 24. *Quæ ſurſum ſunt ſapite, non quæ ſu-*

per terram. Ergo non supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum carnem te quærere debemus, si volumus inuenire. Sauoure those thinges that are aboue, and not those things that are on earth. If we therefore, will finde him, we must not seeke him vpon the earth, nor in the earth, nor after the manner of flesh.

Cyrill also, who being in the dayes of saynt Ambros Bishoppe of *Alexandria*, writeth vpon the Gospell of saynt Iohn, and sayeth thus: Lib. 6. capit. 14. *Et si Christus corporis sui præsentiam hinc subduxit, maiestate tamen diuinitatis semper adest, sicut ipse, a discipulis abiturus policetur. Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, vsq; ad consummationem sæculi.* Although Christ haue conueighed hence the presence of his body: yet is he alwayes present by the maiestie of his diuinity, euen as when hee was departing from hys Disciples he promised. Beholde I am with you euery day, euen to the ende of the worlde.

S. Gregorie also, in his 21. Homelie, writeth thus. *Christus nõ est hic, per præsentiam carnis: qui tamen nusquam deest, per præsentiam maiestatis.* Christ (sayth he) is not here, by the presence of hys flesh: which notwithstanding, is absent from no place, by the presence of hys maiestie.

Fulgentius also, in his seconde booke, *Ad transimundum regem* writeth thus. *Christus vnus, idemq; homo localis ex homine, qui est deus immensus ex patre. Vnus idemq; secundum humanam substantiam, absens cœlo, cum esset in terra, & derelinquens terram cum ascendisset in cœlum.* Christ is but one, and the same is placible, man of man, which is of hys Father GOD, that can not be measured. One and the same as touching his humane substaunce, was absent from heauen when he was on earth, and leauing the earth when he ascended into heauen. The last of these writers hetherto cited, lyued within 500. yeres after Christes ascention.

Consider, I pray you, the places that I haue here set downe in writing, taken out of the most auncient, learned, and godly writinges that these Fathers haue left behinde them. And be no longer ledde by such as firste seduced you, and do stil beare you in hand that all the auncient Fathers did beleeue and teach such a reall presence of Christ Iesus to be in the Sacrament of the Altare, as they haue taught you to beleeue: and that al we that do deny that there is any such reall presence of Christ in that Sacrament, do make

God

God a lyar, and do holde an hereſie, moſt horrible, deteſtable, and abhominable. Where as in very deede, we do beleeue and teache, the true, auncient, Catholicke, and Apoſtolicke fayth, concerning the true vſe of the Sacrament of the body and bloude of our Saui-our Chriſt. And that which they do holde and teache, is ſchiſmaticall, deuilliſh, and dammable. Come out from amongſt them, hearken no more to them, they are falſe Prophets, deſtruction hangeth ouer their heads, and hell gapeth for them. They robbe Chriſte of his glory. They rob Chriſtians of their greateſt comfort. They ſuppreſſe and holde vnder true Religion. They ſette vp and maintaine Idolatry and ſuperſtition. And to ſpeake all in one worde: they vpholde Antichriſt and his whole kingdome.

But to returne to our purpoſe. You ſay that we ſay, that there be but two Sacraments, an hereſie condemned long agoe. But you tell vs not when, where, nor by whom. Therefore as we haue ſayd, ſo we do ſay, and ſo we wyll ſay (by Gods helpe) til you can proue the contrary: that Chriſt hath ordeined but two ſacramẽts to be vſed by Chriſtians. Your ſaying, that it is an hereſie condemned long agoe, is but a flaſhe of faſe fire giuen to a peece of Ordinaunce vncharged, and therefore can not hurt the Bulwork wherin we ſtande, and doo denie that Chriſt hath ordeined any moe ſacraments then two, namely: Baptiſme and the ſupper of ỹ Lord. In his third booke of Chriſtian doctrine, and in the 9. Chap. there of, S. Auſten wryteth thus concerning this matter. *Hoc verò tempore poſteaquam reſurrectione domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, manifeſtiſſimum indicium noſtræ libertatis illuxit, nec eorum quidem ſignorum quæ iam intelligimus, operatione graui onerati ſumus: ſed quædam pauca pro multis, eademq; facta facillima, et intellectu anguſtiſſima, & obſeruatione caſtiſſima, ipſe dominus & apoſtolica tradidit diſciplina: ſicuti eſt Baptiſmi ſacramentum, & celebratio corporis & ſanguinis domini. Quæ vnuſquiſq; cum percipit, quo referantur imbutus agnoſcit, vt ea non carnali ſeruitute, ſed ſpirituali potius libertate veneretur. Vt enim litteram ſequi, et ſigna pro rebus quæ ijs ſignificantur accipere, ſeruilis infirmitatis eſt: ita inutiliter ſigna interpretari, male vagantis erroris eſt.* But in theſe dayes, ſith by the reſurrection of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, a moſt manifeſt ſigne (or ſhewe) of our liberty hath appeared: wee are not loaden with the heauye working of thoſe ſignes that we do already vnderſtande. But in ſtede of many, the

Lorde and the Apostolicke discipline hath giuen vnto vs, a certain small number, and the same very easie to be done, and most excellent in signification, and most pure in obseruation: as is the Sacrament of Baptisme, and the celebration of the body and bloud of the Lorde, which euery man that is instructed, doth when hee receiueth them, knowe to what ende they are referred, that he may reuerence them, not in a carnall seruitude, but rather in a spirituall liberty. For, euen as, to followe the Letter, and to take the signes, for those thinges that be signified by them, is a poynt of seruile infirmity, euen so to enterpret ỹ signes vnprofitably, is a point of error that wandreth euill fauouredly, or wickedly.

In these wordes of S. Austen, we haue occasion to note two thinges especially. One is, that hee did not knowe of moe Sacraments then two, instituted by our Sauiour Christ, and commaunded by him and his Apostles to be vsed in his Church. The other is, that it is a poynt of fleshly seruitude, and not of Christian liberty, for a man to follow the letter, or litterall sence, in those speeches in the Scriptures, that do concerne those two Sacraments, in such sorte that he wyll take the signes that are spoken of, for the thinges signified by them. A man may meruell, that any of your sorte, that knoweth these words of S. Austen: can allowe him for a Catholicke, and yet condemne vs, as Heretickes in thys poynt, wherein we do both affyrme and denie, euen as he hath done manye hundrethes of yeres before vs.

But let vs see yet, one other place of S. Austen. In an Epistle that he wrote to one Ianuarius, which is in number 118. S. Austen wryteth thus. *Primò itaq; tenere te volo, quod est huius disputationis caput, Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, sicut ipse in Euangelio loquitur, leni iugo suo nos subdidisse, & sarcinæ leni. Vnde sacramentis numero paucissimis, obseruatione facillimis, significatione præstantissimis, societatem noui populi colligauit: sicuti est baptismus, trinitatis nomine consecratus, communio corporis & sanguinis ipsius, & si quid aliud in canonicis scripturis commendatur, exceptis iis quæ seruitutem populi veteris, pro congruentia cordis illorum, & prophetici temporis onerabāt, quæ et in quinq; libris Mosis leguntur.* First of all therefore, my wyll is, that you shoulde vnderstande, what the cheefe poynt of thys disputation is. That is, that our Lorde Iesus Christ, hath (as himselfe speaketh in the Gospell) made vs subiecte to his owne easye

easie yoke, and light burden. Whereby he hath tyed together the society of the newe people, with Sacraments that are fewest in number, easiest in obseruing, and most excellent in signification, as is Baptisme, consecrated in the name of the Trinity, and ỹ communion of his body and bloud, and if there be any other sacrament that is in the Canonicall Scriptures commended, except those sacraments, which did encrease the weight of bondage of the olde people, as was méete for theyr hartes, and for the prophetical time, and which are reade in the fiue Bookes of Moses.

In these wordes of S. Austen, we haue occasion to note, that his meaning was to certifie Ianuarius (to whom he wrote this Epistle) of that thing which our Lord Iesus Christ taught, in that which standeth written in the eleuenth of saynt Mathewes Gospell: concerning the easines of the yoke, and the lightnes of the burden, that Christ Iesus hath layde vpon Christians. And for the explaning of hys meaning: he sayth that our Sacraments are very fewe in number, very easie to be obserued, and most excellent in signification. And hee nameth onely Baptisme and the supper of the Lorde, which he calleth (as we commonly dw) the communion of the body and blode of our Sauiour Christ. And further, hee referreth him to the Canonicall scriptures, as aduising him to receiue no moe Sacraments, then he shall finde to be commended in them. And least he might take occasion by those words, to thinke that Christians ought to be circumcised, and to obserue the sacrifices and ceremonies of Moses Lawe: he excepteth all such Sacraments, as were layde vpon the people of the olde Lawe, by any thing that is wrytten in any of the fiue bookes of Moses. So that, by these wordes of thys learned Father saynt Austen, it appeareth (as by the other afore rehearsed) that he was not perswaded, that Christ Iesus our Lord, hath layde vpon vs Christians, that heauye burden of seauen Sacraments, which your holy father the Pope, layeth vpon you, and vpon all hys Antichristian flocke. Confirmation, Order, Repentance, or (as you call it) Penaunce, Matrimonie, and the Visitation of the sicke (which you call Extreme vnction) we vse, as good, profitable, and necessary vsages in the Church of Christ, but not as Sacraments: because it appeareth not in any Canonicall scripture, that Christ our sauiour hath instituted them, and commaunded them to be vsed as sacraments.

Neyther doo they agree with that definition or description of a sacrament, which is commonly allowed of amongst the learned, and is thus. A Sacrament is an outwarde and visible signe, representing an inwarde, invisible spirituall grace, ordeyned by Christe himselfe, to testify Gods good wyll and bountifulnes towards vs, through the same Christ our saviour, by which Gods promises, touching forgiuenes of sinnes, & eternall saluation, giuen through Christ, are (as it were) sealed, and the trueth of them, is more certainly confirmed in our hartes. To thys definition or description onely Baptisme, and the Lords supper doo agree: therefore they onely, are properly to be called sacraments. Otherwyse, a signe of a holy thing may be called a sacrament. But in that large signification of the worde sacrament, there be not onely seauen sacraments, but seauenty times seauen sacraments. And in that meaning we deny not, but that there may be in euery one of these other fiue, which you call sacraments, moe sacraments then one or two. But I can not meruell enough at this one thinge, that men of your sorte, can estæme so highly of Matrimonie, as to make it a sacrament of such excellencie, and yet bynde all your holiest Catholickes by a solemne vowe, neuer to vse it, or to take any benefite by it. Yea, I meruell that you can account matrimony so holy a thing as a sacrament, and yet maryed persons so vnholy, that if any of them shall come into any of your most holy Cloysters, the walles and floores thereof must be washed, as thinges polluted, by the presence of those maryed persons. Howesoeuer therefore, by whom soeuer, or wheresoeuer, that which wee holde concerning two sacraments onely, hath bæne condemned for heresie: we doo styll holde it, and minde styll to holde it for right Religion, tyll Fryer John, and hys fraternitie, can and shall by the Cannonicall scriptures prowe it heresye, and saynt Augustine an Hereticke.

Nowe you enter into your exhortatorie Oration, which you make to your Father and Mother especially: But it may bee thought that your meaning is, that thys exhortation sheulde bee made generall. For your Father and Mother, must haue help in the reading and waying of those matters that are cõterned in thys exhortation. I wyll therefore doo you thys pleasure (if I can) for olde acquaintance. You shall haue this excellent Oration of yours published in print, with all the rest that you haue (in these your

Letters)

Letters) written to your father and mother, that all your frendes on thys side the Seas (if any such be) & all your vndoubted frends of the English Nation, as well in Fraunce as in Italie, or els where in any part of the knowne worlde, may know the depth of that diuinitie that dropped out of your penne, when you wrote those Letters in *Nigeon*. But I will be so bolde with you (mine olde Scholler) as to publish thys mine aunswere together with these your Letters, with this admonition. Reade all: or reade nothing. Hoping that you and your complices, wyll dw as much vpon my admonition, as I haue dwne vpon yours: which is thus. Reade it thorowe, or begin it not. Thys admonition you haue set downe in the margin of your Letters seauentene times. Perswading your selfe (by all likelihoode) that we dare not reade any thing written by a Papist: more then many of your sorte dare reade any thing that is written by a Protestant. But you must vnderstande, that we are not vnder such bowes as you are. Wee are encouraged by the Apostle Paule, to trie all thinges, and commaunded by him to holde fast that which is good. *Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete.* Try all thinges: holdfast that which is good. 1. Thes. 5. Yea, we are of that sorte that our Sauiour Christ spake of *Marci vltimo.* In the last Chapter of saint Markes Gospell. *Si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit.* If they shall drinke any deadly poyson, it shall not hurt them. Wee haue receiued before hande, a Treacle, which is of such vertue, that none of your popysh poysons can hurt vs. We dw therefore, (and by Gods helpe wee wyll) reade all your bookes, if we may haue them. Yea, we wyll so reade them, and answere them, that you shall haue cause to wish that you had neuer written them. Wee dw not vse to condemne mens wrytinges before we haue reade them, wayed and considered them, and founde them such as are meete to be condemned. If you had dwne so, you woulde neuer haue condemned for hereticks, so many as in these your Letters you haue condemned by name: and yet it may be thought, that you neuer reade any one lyne, written by some of them. I hope you will dw as much for mee as I haue dwne for you, that is, reade these my wrytings, way and consider them, and confute them if you can, and let that which you shall dw, be made publique to the worlde. But to returne to our purpose, your Oration beginneth thus.

The Fryer. Looke to your ſelues (I pray you) beleeue our holy mother, the Catholicke Church. Rowle your ſelues vp & down in her bleſſed lappe. Leaue your Sermons heretical: goe no more vnto them. Ryſe not ſo earlie in the morning as you were wont to doo, to damne your ſelfe body and ſoule. Goe no more (I ſay) to thoſe Sermons of Crowley, Barber, Fielde and the reſt. Burne your bookes of Sermons, with all other your bokes in which are hereſies. Be not aſhamed of the name of a Papiſt. Goe to cõfeſſion, confeſſe your ſinnes to a Prieſt. Leaue this worlde that is ſo diſceitfull and ſtick vnto God. &c.

Crowley. Here is an heape of Patheticall ſpeeches, powred out (as it were) of a Veſſell full of feruent zeale towardes your poore parents and all others, that be in ſuch miſerable caſe, as you ſeeme to ſuppoſe that they are in. You wyſhe them to loke to them ſelues, as though you ſawe them in preſent perrill and danger of deſtruction. There be ſeauen thinges that you require them to doo, whereby they may eſcape that great daunger which hangeth ouer their heads.

The firſt is, to beleeue your holie mother the Catholick Church, and to rowle themſelues vp and downe in her bleſſed lapp. If that Catholick Church (that beleeueth, confeſſeth, & profeſſeth, that fayth and Religion that Chriſt Jeſus taught in his owne perſon, & commaunded to be taught Catholicklie, throughout the whole world, by his Apoſtles and meſſengers) be that holie mother of yours that you ſpeake of: then will your Father and Mother, and all other that you wyſhe ſhoulde be moued by your ſpeeches, gladly doo that which you wiſhe them to doo. Yea they doo it alreadie, & haue done it euer ſince God gaue them knowledge of that mother. And they doo ſtill begge of God, that they may continue rowling vppe and downe in her bleſſed lap, all the dayes that they ſhall continue in this tranſitory life. Yea, and they doo conſtantly beleeue all that ſhe hath taught, or doth teache: and they doo dailie craue of God, that they may be made able to beleeue, and boldly confeſſe all that ſhe ſhall teache, ſo long as they ſhalbe liuing on this earth. If thys be your meaning, they doo moſt hartily thank you for your frendly and chriſtian admonition. But it ſeemeth to me, that the holie mother that you ſpeake of, is another, whom men of your ſort call the Romiſh Catholicke Church. Your father and mother, (John and Catherine Debnam) and as manie as be of one mind with them:

doo

dw vtterlie refuſe that mother, becauſe ſhe vſeth to teache manye moe falſe lyes, then true leſſons. They dare not rowle themſelues vp and downe in her lap, becauſe ſhe is not ỹ chaſte ſpouſe of Chriſt Jeſus, but that arrant whore of Babilon, that murdereth the chyldren & ſaints of God Our mother hath told vs, that our father hath commanded vs, to beléeue in one God onely, which beeing three in perſon, is but one in ſubſtance, eſſence & power: but your mother teacheth you to beléeue in manie Gods. For ſhe teacheth you to cal vpon Angels and ſaints, and what is that other, then to teache you to beléeue in them? For, S. Paule writeth thus in his Epiſtle to the Romans. Cha. 10. *Quomodo inuocabunt, in quẽ non crediderunt?* How ſhall they cal vpon him, in whom they haue not beleued? Our mother hath told vs, that our father hath forbidden vs, to make to our ſelues anie grauen Images, or the likenes of any thing that is in heauen aboue, or in the earth benethe. &c. But your mother teacheth you, to make the Images of men & of Angelles, yea and of God himſelfe (whom neuer man could ſée) and to ſet them vppe in your Churches, to burne Incence vnto them, to ſet light before them, to offer gifts vnto them, to fal downe before them, and to make prayers before them, all which is directly contrary to our heauenly fathers commaundement. Our mother hath tolde vs, that our father hath forbidden vs to take his name in vaine, and that he hath commaunded vs to ſweare by him onely, and not by anie other: But your mother teacheth you to ſweare by your idolatrous maſſe, by your ſaints, and by the Images of your ſaints, and to profane the bleſſed name of God, in making your ſuperſtitious vowes, and in all your exorciſmes, & conjurations. Our mother hath told vs that our fathers will is, that we ſhould ſpende the Saboth day holilie, and not to profane it in anie condition. But your mother telleth you, that you may daunce, dallie and ſporte and plaie, bayt Bulles and Beares, and giue your ſelues to all other paſtimes on the Sabothe daie, ſo that you diſpatche your Idolatrous ſeruice in your Churches, either before or after, but you muſt in any caſe take heede, that you giue not your ſelf to any good exerciſe in that day. Our mother telleth vs, that our fathers pleaſure is, that we ſhold ſhew due obedience, to ſuch as are in any reſpect our fathers or mothers, and ỹ we ought to honor them, and be of ductiful behauiour towards them, yea, and (if néede ſhal ſo require) to ayde ſuccor and relæue them, in ſuch meaſure as GOD ſhall make vs able.

But your mother teacheth you to say Corban, as the Pharesyes taught theyr Schollers, when our Sauiour Christ was amongst them.

Let your olde Father and Mother, (John and Catherine Debnam) serue in England, by reason that being aged and impotent, they can not by labour procure thinges needefull, as in youth they did, and fedde both themselues and you, with the rest of theyr children: Theyr sonne Samuell must (if he will hearken to his new mother of Rome) liue still in Fraunce, being fedde and sustayned by the labour of others, and write to his Father and Mother (bee their case neuer so harde) that he must fast and pray, and whippe himselfe for their sinnes, and obserue the Rule of a bonehome all the dayes of his life, and not come ouer into England, and lay hys lasie limmes to any honest labour, whereby he may eate his own breade, and helpe to fede the feble bodies of his decayed Father and Mother, or doo any honest seruice in the Common weale of hys Countrey. Yea that mother of his telleth him, that he is exempted from all secular power, and so sequestred from the world, that he may not imploy himselfe, or suffer himselfe to be imployed, in doing any good therein.

Our Mother hath tolde vs, that we may not shedde any mans bloud, for who so shall doo so, shall haue his bloude shedde by man. But your mother telleth you, that if you can shed the bloud euen of Princes that be Protestants, you shall thereby purchase forgiuenes of all your sinnes, and be canonized for a saint, and haue your name written in the Popes Calender, yea and you shall be called vppon in the Letanie, amongst such as the Pope alloweth of for saints: *Sancte Samuele Iohannes Francisce, ora pro nobis.* O holye Samuell John Frauncis: pray for vs. Our mother hath told vs, that our fathers wyll is, that we should keepe our bodies vndefiled by adulterie or fornication, and that he wyll destroy them that shal defile his Temple (which is the body of euery Christian) eyther by fornication or adultery, and therefore he would haue all men and women that haue not chaste mindes in chast bodies, to match themselues in chaste mariage. But your mother hath taught you to vowe a wiueles lyfe, not knowing whether God wyll make you able to performe that vowe or not. So that although you shall burne in concupiscence neuer so much, yet mary you may not, to

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kæpe your body vndefiled, for you haue forſworne that remedye, which is the onely remedie that God hath appointed. Our mother hath tolde vs, that our father hath forbidde vs to ſteale, or to take anie thing that doth not by ſome iuſt title belong to vs, eyther by force or by fraude: But your mother teacheth you to robbe God of his glory, yea, and to challenge and clayme to your ſelf, that which belongeth onely to him, as the appoynting of a mediator, and the meanes of mediation, for the obtayning of pardon, and forgiuenes of ſinnes: which you aſſigne to Angels and ſaints, and to maſſyng Prieſtes, and to your ſelues, and to al other merite mongers. Perſwading the poore and ſimple people that wyll harken vnto you, that by your auſteritie of life, your going and lying woolwarde, your ryſing at midnight, your ſinging, your ſaying, your faſting, your praying, and by your whypping and ſcourging, they? ſinnes ſhalbe forgiuen, becauſe they fede and mayntain you in idlenes by their ſore labours, and thus you robbe and ſpoile them of the fruite of their labours, vnder pretence of long prayers, and ſuch other hipocriticall workes, as the Phareſies did, *Mathew.23.* But our mother hath tolde vs, and we beleeue it, that our father hath made his onely begotten ſonne Chriſt Jeſus, our onely Mediator: yea, and the onelie mediator betwirt him and all mankinde. 1. Tim. 2.

Our mother hath tolde vs, that our father hath forbidden vs to beare falſe witnes againſt any man: But your mother teacheth you to belye all ſuch as ſhe calleth Proteſtants, and to ſay of all ſuch, (as you haue in theſe your Letters written) that they are the deuills miniſters, and that their life is ſuch, that if it were knowne to the ſimple Chriſtians, they would not onely wonder at their wilines, but alſo forſake they? folly. Whereas that which you call they? folly, is heauenly wiſedome, and that which you call wilines in them, is ſimple and true dealing.

Our mother hath tolde vs, that our heauenly father woulde not that we ſhould luſt after any thing, that belongeth to our neighbour: But your mother hath taught you to luſt after the kingdom of England (which belongeth not to you that be fugitiues and Rebels) & to haue your Order of Frauncis of Paula to be ſetled there. Yea, it ſæmeth that you are more then halfe aſſured that it ſhalbe ſo: For you wryte that you hope, that it ſhall ſhortly be in Englande. I feare me therefore, that fugitiue, or Rebell, is too good a

name for you, sith you seeme to be ranke Traytors indeede. Well, I wold wish you to hearke no lōger to your Romish mother, least she bring you at the last to preache at our Tyburne. A meete place for such to preache in, as being English borne, haue Romish harts. We dare not rowle our selues vp and downe in the lappe of such a mother. We will not forsake that mother, that hetherto hath taught vs, and doth still teache vs, to feare, honour, and loue our heauenlie Father, and to frame our liues according to his will. In her lap we wyll rowle our selues vp and downe, as hetherto wee haue doone, and craue at Gods hands that we may dō so styll, and encrease in loue toward our heauenly father, and towardes her. Her wordes we dō beleeue, and her words we dō hope we shal beleeue, so long as we shall liue here : for they are the words of truth, and words that teache nothing but the will of our heauenly Father, which is the God of truth.

The Sermons which you call heretical : your father & mother neither may nor will leaue. For they are the plentifull pappes of that louing mother, in whose lap they dō rowle themselues. And out of those pappes they and all others that dō rowle themselues, together with them, in that mothers lap, dō sucke that milke that S. Peter writeth of. 1. Pet. 2. which nourisheth to saluation. They will not therefore leaue those dugges, but will hange still vppon them. Your mother of Rome hath not so sweete, so pleasant, nor so healthsome milke in her withered dugges. Her milke is poyson to the children of God : wherefore our mothers children will none of it, neither will they leaue of going to those Sermons, where they may sucke so much good and healthfull Milke as may suffice them.

You aduise your mother not to rise so earelie in the morning, as she hath beene accustomed to dō, to damne herselfe body and soule. Goe no more (you saie) to those Sermōs of Crowly, Barber, Field, and the rest. So that, to rise in the morning to heare the Gospell of Christ preached, is in the iudgment of men of your sort, to damne both bodie and soule. But if your mothers dwelling were in Paris, as it is in London, and shee woulde rise at midnight, and goe to *Nigeon*, to heare Frier John and his fellowes singing theyr mattins before their blessed sacrament of the Altar : thē she should be accounted the holyest Matrone in all Paris. Yea her ghostlye Father would assure her, that the place which the blessed Virgine

Marie

Marie doth nowe possesse in the kingdome of heauen, were meane enough (yea too meane) for her. But especiallie, if she did not vse to come emptie handed, but bring with her, either a bottle of the best Wine, or a bagge of the best Nuttes, or a good quantity of the best Figges or Reysons, or Almons, or any other fruites, as the times of the yeare should yelde: for *Minime* Friers may eate all manner of fruites, when they be giuen vnto them, as Frier Iohn himselfe hath written.

But do ye not see (Sir Frier Iohn) howe this parte of your exhortation, rebowndeth vpon your selfe. Rise not at midnight to damne your selfe bodie and soule. Goe not, I saie, to sing your Mattins before your blessed Sacrament of the Altare, which neyther doth nor can heare you. Take no such daily paynes as you do, in singing your high masses, which can not profite you, but shall condemne you to hell fire (if you repent not) for all that you doo therein is Idolatrie, and false worshippyng of God. Yea, it is the setting vp of an Idole in the place of God, and the giuing of Gods honour to an Idole. Returne againe therefore into Englande, and accompanie your aged mother to the places, where she and you together, may heare the doctrine of saluation preached by Crowley, Barber, Fielde, and other. In which exercise, your mother attayned to the knowledge of Christ, euen in the daies of her virginity. when as yet Frier Iohn was not Samuell Debnam. She is not builded vpon sande or grauell: but vpon the firme Rocke Christe Iesus, and therefore, it is not the vayne blaste of your Friarlike eloquence that can remoue her.

You wishe her to burne her bookes of Sermons, and other bookes that haue heresie in them. If she haue any such bookes (as I thinke she hath not) I would wysh her to do as you bidde her, but if her bookes be no worse then I doo thinke them to be, I hope she wyll make greater account of them, then you wil her to make. Your masse bookes, your Gradalles, your Legends, your Manualles, your Portises, your Processioners, and your Hymnalles, your Pontificalles, and your Decretalles, with the rest of your popish Utensiles: are meeter matter to be sacrificed in fire to Vulcan, then are those bookes of your mothers, which you will her to burn. You say furder to her Be not ashamed of ỹ name of a Papist Goe to cõfession, confesse your sins to a priest: this is as much as to

Be not aſhamed of the name of a Traytor. For euery one that (being an Engliſh man, or woman) is a right Papiſt, ſuch a one as you bragge that your ſelfe are: the ſame is a ranke Traytor to the Prince and ſtate of the Realme of England. You haue therefore a Traytors hart towards your Prince and Country, that can wyſh your mother not to be aſhamed of the name of a Papiſt. Your mother hath learned of Ieſus Syracke, not to be ſo lauiſh of ſpæche, as to open her ſecrete ſinnes, either to frænde or to foe. If the Prieſt that you would haue to confeſſe her ſinnes to, be neither her frænd nor her foe: then perhaps ſhe may be perſwaded to tell him ſomewhat. Syracke. 19

But wyll you ſée, what opininion S. Auſten hath conceiued of theſe ghoſtly fathers that you ſpeake of. *Quid mihi ergo eſt cum hominibus, vt audiant confeſſiones meas: quaſi ipſi ſanaturi ſint omnes lãguores meos? Curioſum genus, ad cognoſcendam vitam alienam, deſidioſum ad corrigendam ſuam. Quid a me quærunt audire qui ſim: qui nolunt a te audire qui ſint? Et vnde ſciunt, cum a meipſo de meipſo audiunt: an verum dicam? quandoquidem nemo ſcit hominum, quid agatur in homine, niſi ſpiritus hominis qui in ipſo eſt? Auguſtinus confeſſionum, libri. 10. cap. 3.* What haue I to dœ with men ý they ſhould heare my confeſſions: as though they ſhould heale all my langors? A kinde of men curious to knowe the life of another man, but ſlack to amende their owne. Why dœ they ſéeke to heare what manner of man I am: which are not wylling to heare thée declare what manner of men themſelues be. And when they dœ heare me make report of my ſelfe, howe dœ they knowe whether I dœ ſay true or not? For no man doth knowe what is dœne in man, but the ſpirite of man which is in him. Auſten, in the 10. booke of his confeſſions, the 3. Chapter.

I hope you wyll not blame your mother, though ſhe followe not your counſell, ſith both S. Auſten and Ieſus Syracke haue aduiſed her to dœ the contrary. She doth confeſſe her ſinnes to God euery day, becauſe ſhe is aſſured, that he doth knowe when ſhe ſpeaketh trueth. And that he is able to pardon and to forgiue her ſins, and that being vnfaynedly penitent for her ſinnes, he doth and wyll pardon, forgiue and forget her ſinnes, according to the ſaying of the Prophet Ezechiel. Chap. 18, At what time ſoeuer a ſinner ſhall repent him of his ſinnes from the bottome of his hart, I will

put

put all his wickednes out of my remembraunce.

Your mother, and all we Protestants, are and wilbe ready to dw as saint Iames teacheth in his 5. Epistle, where he sayth thus: Confesse your sinnes one to another. When we haue trespassed one against another, we acknowledge our faultes one to another. We aske forgiuenes one of another. We satisfie & make a mendes one to another, if our habilitie will stretch so far: if not, we know that God wyll require no more of vs, then hee will make vs able to dw. And as touching faults that are committed against vs, we forgiue them, as Christ hath commaunded and taught vs. Yea, though our brother shall trespasse against vs seauen times in a daie, and shall saie seauen times in a day, it repenteth me: we forgiue, because we knowe that otherwise our heauenly father wyll not forgiue vs. And when the horrour of our sinne, is so great before our eyes, that we can not otherwise be satisfied, and assured of forgiuenes at Gods hande, but by such comfort, as some that wee thinke to be of more knowledge, and of better life then we knowe our selues to be of, can minister vnto vs: then we make choyse of some such one as can certifie vs indeede, by the mercifull promises of God contained in the holie Scriptures, made to penitēt sinners, and not by popish penaunce enioyned, and popish absolution pronounced, by vertue of anie power giuen by that most holy Father of yours, the Romish Antichrist. We are not so madde as you were, when you hauing tasted of the sweete mylke that our Mother, the true Catholicke and Apostolicke Church did minister vnto vs, by her pappes that she offered to vs, at the Spittle in Easter weeke, 1583. woulde on the Saterday following (as your selfe doo write) runne into a corner, like a Waltams Calfe, seeking to bee satisfied with the mylke of a Bull. Giuing credite to a false forsworne Traytor, that (without all manner of proofe) told you, that all the healthful milke that you had sucked before, was poyson, and that if you would finde milke that might feede you to euerlasting life, you must runne to Rhemes, or to Rome, for there it is to bee had, and not els where. But I hope you will remember your selfe better, and returne to your first fayth, from which you are for a whyle fallen, that rysing againe you may confirme others, & stay them from the like horrible fall.

You wyshe your mother to leaue this worlde that is so disceit-

full, and to sticke vnto God. So she did before you were borne, and doth still, & so purposeth to continue all the daies of her life: though she minde not to shake of the yoke of duetie towards her husband, (your father) and professe her selfe a Nunne, as you haue professed your selfe a Fryer, and haue shaken of the yoke of duetifull obedience to her and to your aged Father, and to the Common weale of your Countrey, that hath nourished you vp, whervnto you doo by naturall order, owe a third part of that seruice that GOD hath made you able to doo. Your mother knewe, before she did knowe you, that this worlde is deceitfull, and therefore, shee neuer did repose any trust in it. She hath learned to liue in the worlde, and not to be of the worlde, neither to serue the worlde, but to serue him that made her and the worlde, giuing his creatures to her and others his children in the world, for whose cause he hath made all his creatures that are in this worlde. And she hath learned to be thankfull to God, for the vse of his creatures in the world, and not to be in loue with thys worlde, or with anie thing in it, but to haue her affection styll fixed vpon that other worlde, where shee is assured that she shall for euer dwell with him, that hath made both this and that world. She is not so madde as to thinke that there is none other way to heauen, but thorowe Rome gates. She knoweth that Christ Iesus is the way, the trueth, and the life: and not the Pope, nor your Frauncis, nor any other father of your newe founde Religions.

Although you say that your Religions are auncient, and ours newe, yet she knoweth that yours are new, and ours is auncient. And although you charge vs with many Religions, yet she knoweth that our Religion is but one, and yours is manifolde. You haue written, that your Order is called the Order of S. Frauncis of Paula: what that Frauncis was, or in what time he liued, I can not finde in any Historye. Sabellicus, and other Historians haue noted, that about 400. yéres past, there liued in Italie, one Franciscus Asisias, a man of singuler vertue (as they reporte) and that this man beganne a newe Order of Fryers, whom he named *Minors*. And after that, he instituted an other Order, whom he called *Paupers*, or poore Friers. There sprange from him a thyrde Order also, which were called *Pœnitentes*, or repenting Friers. By all likelihoode, your Order is of that sort of Fryers. But let it be

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of which you lust to make it, it can not be of such antiquity, that you may compare with vs. We hold not of ante of them that you name Captaine Protestants. We are not Caluinists, we are not Zwynglians, we are not Lutherans, Wickliffians, nor Hussians: yea, we holde neyther of Apollo, of Peter, nor of Paule: but wee holde of Christ onely, and are and wylbe called Christians. You are and wilbe called *Minimes*, *Franciscans*, *Dominickes*, *Minorites*, *Carmelites*, *Benedictines*, *Augustines*, *Bernardines*, and I knowe not what. And by a common name, you wylbe called Papists.

Your popish Religion beganne, when the Popes did first take vppon them the high dignitie of vniuersall Bysshops, and heades of the vniuersall Church of Christ, which was about 610. yeres after the Ascention of our Sauiour Christ, not full 1000. yeres before this day. At which time, *Bonifacius* the third of that name, was ordeyned the high and vniuersall Bishop. But our Religion beganne in Adam, and continued in the posterity of Sethe, euen tyll the incarnation of Christ, and was by him made Catholicke, to bee vniuersally receiued of all Nations. And that Religion onelie doo we holde and professe. And in this Religion were you baptized amongst vs. And this Religion did you once professe, before many witnesses. I would therefore wysh you to leaue your newe Religion, and professe your olde Religion againe, repenting vnfainedly your Apostacie, and crauing forgiuenes at our heauenly fathers handes, who is alwayes more ready to graunt vs pardon, then we can be to craue it. So shall you shewe your selfe to doo, as you wysh your mother to doo: that is, you shall leaue the worlde, and worldly deuises, and cleaue vnto God alone, as your mother and al vnfained Protestants doo. You proceede, and say thus.

The Fryer. Beleeue me if you wyll: I know as wel as you, the heresies of *Caluine* and *Luther*, and could peraduenture, haue defended them, better then you can. And therefore, knowing their opinions, and seeing that they were moste false and damnable, contrary to all holesome doctrine, and to the Scripture it selfe: I was by reason of thys constrained to leaue them, and to make my selfe a Papist. For trust me if you wyll, when ye shall yeelde your soules to God, your bodies returning to the earthe, you wyll then tell me another tale. You would then if you could,

bewayle your ſinnes, but you ſhall not be able &c.

Crowley. If we wyll beléeue you, we may. But for my parte I can hardly beléeue, that eyther you did then, or do nowe, knowe the doctrines that *Luther* and *Caluine* taught, which you call herecſies, ſo well as your Father and mother both did then, and do now knowe them. But be it that you did: yet without peraduenture, you were neuer able to defende them halfe ſo well, as they bothe could and can. For if you had béene of ſuch habilitie to defend our Religion, as your Father and mother were then, and be now alſo, vndoubtedly, you coulde neuer haue béene ſo ſone vanquiſhed as you were, by ſo weake aduerſaries, as by all likelihoode you had. But it ſeemeth that you had no outward aduerſary at all, but the ſpirit of Arrogancie onely that lurked within you, and moued you to preſume vpon your ſelfe, and to take vppon you to iudge of the doctrine of others, before you had any knowledge of doctrine your ſelfe. But we muſt beleeue you (if wee luſt) when you ſay that you did knowe theyr opinions, & did ſée that they were moſte falſe, and abhominable, and contrary to all holeſome doctrine, and to the Scripture it ſelfe: and by reaſon of thys, you were conſtrained to leaue them, and to make your ſelfe a Papiſt. A meruailous matter (more to be muſed at then to be beléeued) that ſo young a man as Samuell Debnam was, in *Anno* 1583. (at which time he was not Fryer John Frauncis) ſhoulde haue in that little corps of his, all holeſome learning, and ſuch a knowledge of Scriptures, that he was able to affyrme for truth, that the opinions that *Caluine* and *Luther* helde, are contrary both to all holeſome doctrine, and to the Scriptnre it ſelfe. And yet I dare affyrme for trueth, that this profounde Clarke, did neuer (before that time, wherein hee ſayth he was enforced to make himſelfe a Papyſt) reade any one worke thorowe, that either *Caluine* or *Luther* haue written. Yea, and as I thinke, I may be bolde to affyrme, that this profounde Diuine, had at that time, as little knowledge of that doctrine which he calleth ſounde: as any young Grammarian, eyther hath or can haue of the déepeſt miſteries of Diuinitie. For I knowe, that before that time he neuer gaue himſelfe to any graue ſtudy, neyther dyd he gyue himſelfe to any manner of orderly reading. But his whole time (in manner) was ſpent in toying and tryfling, and for ỹ moſt parte in idlenes, and vayne playing. And in the Scriptures, hee

coulde

coulde haue none other knowledge, then such as he might attayne vnto, either by hearing in the Churches (where he neuer vsed to hearken attentively) or els by reading in my house, at the times of myne ordinary dinners and suppers, vnto which exercise I did employe him, as I did other young boyes, that I kept in my house, as I kept him. And yet see howe he taketh vppon him, to condemne for most false, damnable, and contrary to all holesome doctrine, yea and to the Scripture it selfe, the opinions that those two excellent men (*Iohn Caluine* and *Martine Luther*) holde and taught, and haue left behinde them in wryting to the viewe of all posteritye. Arroganting to himselfe, the full and perfect knowledge, as well of the Scriptures, as of all humane Doctrines, both good and bad. Yea. (by those speeches that he vseth) he would seme to haue read and wayed, both the one and the other, and to haue conferred the one with the other, as one very desirous to haue founde them agreeable, the one to the other. But the falshode of that which hee then fauoured, was so great and damnable, and the contrariety to all holesome doctrine, and to the Scripture it self, so manifest: that although hee agaynst his wyll, he was constrayned to leaue the doctrine and profession of a Protestant, and to make himselfe a Papyst. Yea, by the wordes that he addeth, he semeth to be perswaded, that except he had doone so, he must of necessity, haue perished euerlastingly. For thus he sayth.

Truste me (if you wyll) when yee shall yelde your soules to God &c. You wyll tell me another tale: yeu woulde then yf you coulde &c. But you shall not be able. Would not a man (that readeth these wordes) thinke that thys young Fryer, hath as much knowledge as is possible for a man to haue? And yet when he is opened, and thorowly searched, there is not one crumme of knowledge founde in him. Undoubtedly, it was but a vision in slepe, that deceiued him. He dreamed that he knewe the opinions, that he wryteth of: and that he compared them with all holesome doctrine, and with the Scripture, and founde them, as he reporteth. But when he shall awake out of hys dreame (for as yet, hee lyeth snoring and snorting, in his depe slepe of wylfull ignorance) then he shalbe in that case that the poore begger was in, which awaking out of hys sleepe, sought after money, but founde not one crosse of Coyne about him, notwithstanding, that in his slepe he dreamed

that he had more bagges of Golde then he was able to beare. Hee vttered certayne speeches amongst his companions, whylst he was in my house, before he tooke his iourney into Fraunce, which wordes do sauour of such a Dreame. What wyll you say (sayth this dreamer) when you shall see me preache at Paules Crosse? And agayne. I wyll see Rome before I bee a yere elder. These speeches agree with that desire that he had to creepe into the weede of a *Minime* Fryer. No man coulde diswade him from it. By all likelihoode he had heard that diuers Friers of S. Frauncis Order, haue beene made Popes of Rome. As Sabellicus the Hystorian noteth, that before his time, fiue *Franciscane* Fryers hadde beene made Popes. *Enneadis 9. Libro. 6.* And I knowe the courage of Fryer Iohn Frauncis to be such: that though his personne be but little, yet hys heade would holde vp the triple Crowne. And although there haue beene many bloudy beasts that haue worne that crowne, yet I thinke that amongst them all, there hath not beene one more bloudy, then thys little vermine woulde be, if he myght once change his *Minimes* hoode for a triple Crowne. But to returne to our matter. He proceedeth with hys exhortation to hys Father and mother, and thus he sayth.

The Fryar. I haue heard my mother say, that in the olde tyme, the people were more deuoute then nowe they be. Nowe, if so be that, you be nowe gouerned by God, and the Papists in olde time were gouerned by the deuill, you must needes confesse, that the deuill is better able to make men deuout then God is, for because that by your owne confessyon, the Papists were more deuout in the olde time, then the Protestants are nowe.

Crowley. Thys is a poynt of deepe Diuinity, and of as cunning Sophistry. Fryer Johns Mother did once say so, therefore of necessity it must needes be so. But it may be, that Fryers of your Order haue a Priuiledge, whereby they may frame arguments, that shall conclude neither in Mode nor in Figure: and yet no man may denie, either the argument or any part thereof. I haue heard it reported, that once there was a Pope, that would seeme to be a better Latinist then he was indeede, and therfore he would nowe and then be talking a little Latine, though hee did oftentimes reache *Priscian* a blowe. But on a time, there was one present, that hearing him make default in not obseruing the Rules of

Grammer

Grammer in his speeche: thought good wyth due reuerence to admonish him, saying: It may please your holines to pardon my boldnes. As I take it, your holines hath broken *Priscians* heade. The Pope answered, and sayd: As I haue spoken so shall it bee, in despight of *Priscian*, and all the Grammarians in the worlde. Nowe, if that holy Father, or any other amongst your holy fathers of Rome, haue graunted you as large a liberty in framing Arguments, as that holy Father himselfe vsed in speaking Latine, then you may maintayne your argument for good amongst Papistes, but amongst Protestants it wyll neuer be allowed for good. The meaning of your mothers wordes, is as much as if shee should say thus. The people were more addicted to Religion, in the olde time then they be nowe, but the Religion that then was in vse, is a corrupted and vnpure Religion, and the Religion that now is in vse is more sincere and pure. The people therefore are more addicted to embrace a corrupted Religion, then that which is more pure. Thys argument hath some sence in it. And this saying is according to that saying of our Sauiour Christ. Iohn. 3. Lyght is come into the worlde, and men haue loued darknes more then light. Nowe, if you shoulde enforce these words against the Apostle, and others that were the Schollers of Christ, you shoulde doo them great wrong, for they were not of that sorte of men, that loued darknes more then light, for they were chosen out of ỹ world, and had theyr myndes renued, and as they were renued, they loued light and hated darknes, that is, ignorance and wickednes of lyfe, which is the fruite of ignorance and darknes. Euen so, you doo open wrong to the Protestants, in that you enforce your mothers speeche agaynst them, concluding that of necessity they must confesse, that eyther they be gouerned by the deuill: or els that the deuill is better able to worke deuotion in men, then God himselfe is. Thys conclusion followeth not vpon the Premisses. For although men generally, haue not so great deuotion to the true Religion that is nowe in vse, as generally they had to that Religion, that was in vse in the time of ignorance: yet such as be now vnfayned Christians, euen such as men of your sorte doo vse to call Protestants, haue nowe as greate deuotion to the right Religion, as euer the Papists had to theyr vayne superstition, or as you (Master Fryer John) haue nowe to that solery ỹ you haue nowe

professed in *Nigeon*.

The ryght Protestant, is the right Christian, and hath receiued the spyrite of Christ (as all that belong to Christ haue done. Rom. 8.) and is gouerned and ledde by that spyrite, which spirite worketh in him, a feruent deuotion to serue God, in spyrit & in trueth, that is in true holines and righteousnes. The ryght Papyst, is the ryght Antichristian, and hath receiued the spirite of Antichrist, and is gouerned and ledde by that spyrite, because he hath gyuen ouer himselfe to be ledde by that spyrite, forsaking ỳ spirit of truth. 2. Thes. 2. I conclude therefore, that your conclusion that you infer vpon those wordes that you haue hearde your mother speake, concerning the deuotion of the people in the olde time, is a fonde fryarlike conclusion, and toucheth not vs any thing at all. We know that our God is in heauen, and that he can do what hee wyll doo, and hath doone what he woulde doo, both in heauen, in earth, and in hell, and in all deepe places. As for the deuill, we knowe hym to be but a slaue to our God. And that of himselfe, he hath no power at all. For all power belongeth to God. Psal. 62 And we knowe that deuotion, is a good gyft, and therefore commeth from GOD, who is the gyuer of all good gyfts, and that no good gyft doth, or can come from the deuill. That therefore, which you call deuotion, and is wrought in you Papists by ỳ spyrit of Antichrist (which is the deuill) is no deuotion indeede, but a meere superstition, and a superstitious zeale to false Religion. And thus much for answere to that matter. You proceede and you say thus.

The Fryar. Consider this, looke to your soules health, remember the saying of our blessed Lord and Sauiour. Whosoeuer loueth Father or mother, Brother or sister, sonne or daughter, landes or goods, yea or his owne soule more then me, he is not worthy to be my disciple. Thinke not therefore, that it is so much to burne your bookes, seeing God will not haue vs to loue our owne soules more then him.

Crowley. We haue considered that which you haue wylled vs to consider, as in the words that goe immediatly before, you may see. Such care for our soules health, as becommeth Christians, we haue had, haue stil, and we do not doubt but we shall haue, so long as we shall liue in thys transitory estate. The saying of our blessed Lorde and Sauiour, we forget not. We loue not Father, mother,

ther, ſonne, daughter, landes, goods, no nor our owne ſoules more then we loue him. Yea we loue none of theſe otherwiſe then in him, and for his cauſe. And yet do we not thinke our ſelues worthy to be his Schollers. But hys holy ſpirite which he hath gyuen vs, doth inwardly in our harts aſſure vs, ꝑ in mercy hee hath accepted of vs, & made vs not onely his Schollers, but alſo his ſons and daughters by adoption, inheritours of his owne kingdom, and heyres annexed with hys onely begotten ſonne, Chriſt Ieſus. And therefore, we do not in our dangers flée from him (as you Papiſts do, ſéeking helpe in creatures) but we flée to him, as obedient children to a louing Father, and we cry *Abba pater*, Father, Father, But let vs ſée what followeth in your exhortation.

The Fryar. Beleeue me, I pray you, I am your ſonne. Beleeue not them that flatter you before your face, and behind your back laugh you to ſcorne. If your hart be turned (as I beſeeche God it may be) if you can not finde a Prieſt to heare your confeſſyon, & to reconcile you, and make you a member of the holy Church, at the leaſt wiſe burne your bookes hereticall, vſe not the Englyſh Bible, goe no more to the Proteſtants Sermons, buy a payre of Beades, and pray to our bleſſed Ladye to helpe you, and wyſh in your hart that you had a Prieſt to confeſſe you, and wiſh ſo as often as you can, but ſpecially when you fall ſicke, or that you are like to die. Purpoſe ſtedfaſtly, if you coulde conueniently, to confeſſe your ſinnes, and to goe to ſhryft ? &c.

Crovvley. When you woulde perſwade your Mother to burne her Bookes, you put her in minde of thys ſaying of our Sauiour Chriſte : Whoſoeuer loueth father or mother. &c. But nowe, when you laboure to drawe her from Chriſt to Antichriſt, ſhe muſt beléeue you, for you are her ſonne. A prétie point of Rhethorike, and very rhethoricallie applyed. If your behauiour had béene ſuch towards your mother, that ſhe might haue had thereby ſome cauſe to thinke, that you beare a childlike affection towardes her : or if you had in theſe your Letters, ſought by humble and dutifull ſpéeches, to winne agayne that fauour, which by vndutifull behauiour you haue loſt : then it might haue ſtande with ſome reaſon, that you require her to giue credite to you (her naturall ſon) rather then to any other, ſuch as you ſpeake of. But ſith you neyther haue nor can purge your ſelfe of that déepe diſſimulation that

you vsed, at and before you slipped away from her, neither of that vndutifull behauiour that hath bene in you towardes her, in all the time of your absence, and is still: I can not thinke that you were well aduised, when you woulde vse that way to perswade. For what mother can beleeue any word that is spoken or written by that sonne, that would hipocritically accompany her to the Sermons at Easter, and with his penne take notes of them: and yet on the Saterdaie following, woulde goe secretely to a Romishe ghostlie Father, and be by him reconciled to the Romish Catholick Church, promising to be an enemie, yea a mortall enemie all the rest of his life daies, to the doctrine which he had so latelie hearde, and in outward shewe seemed to haue allowed of? yea and what credite can you hope to haue at her handes, in whose company, you receiued (I feare me to your owne condemnation) the holy Supper of the Lord, the nert day after you had bene reconciled to that Antichristian Church of Rome? And how can you hope, that your mother will beleeue you, that making haste to be gone from her, on the Munday in the after noone, pretended to goe to heare that Hebrewe Lecture, that the mischieuous Hereticke Barber (as it pleaseth you to terme him) did reade vnto you? And do you think that you (lying so nigh London the two first nights, after your departing from your mother, and three weekes after that, within one mile of London, and hearing what searche was made for you, by your carefull parents and other frendes, would not shewe your selfe to that sorrowfull mother, but suffer her to continue still in that remediles care, not onelie during the space of three monthes, which was the time that you continued in Englande, before you could passe ouer the Seas: but also, euen to the ende almost of three yeeres, continuing in Fraunce, would neuer make your place and case knowne to your mother, or anie of your frendes in England) can haue anie such credite with this mother of yours, as in these wordes of yours you seeme to make account of? If your Mother will hearken to you, she may giue no credite to the that flatter her to her face, but laugh her to scorne behinde her back. And I pray you, can there be any that hath or coulde deale so with her more then you haue done? Can any man thinke that you did not laugh in your sleeue, when you heard that your father and mother made such enquirie and search after you, and yet coulde not meete wyth

you?

your and could anie flatter your mother to her face, more then you did all ỹ Easter time before you departed? There is no cause there fore, why she should either giue lesse credite to any, then to you, or distrust any more then you. If her hart be turned from Christe to Antichrist (as you dow craue of God it may be) then she must seeke for a priest, to heare her confession & reconcile her, and make her a member of ỹ holy Church, but though she can find no such priest, yet she must (if she wil folow your aduice) burn her hereticall bookes, & vse the English Bible no more, and refrain going to ỹ Protestants Sermons. To pleasure your mother in this case, you might haue downe very well, to haue written to her, where and howe she might finde one of these reconciling priests, and by what token she might know a right reconciling priest, frō a cosening knaue, least hoping to be made a member of ỹ holy Church, she might be admitted into the society and felowship of cosoning mates, that haue no authority from your Antichrist of Rome, and so shoulde she be in worse case then now she is, or that you dow now suppose her to be. For hauing forsaken God (as you doo aduice her to dw) she should not be receiued of Antichrist, and so should she be as a masterles howndc, that smelleth to euerie mans garment, and neuer findeth any that will accept of his seruice. And where as you wishe her in any case to burne her hereticall bookes, you might haue dowe wel to direct her to places & persons, where, and by whose meanes shee might come by such bookes ỹ you dw allow for Catholick. &c. But in that which followeth, it appeareth what your meaning is. For she may neyther vse the Bible in English, nor heare the Protestants preache, neither dw you direct her which way she may take, to come where she may heare Catholick preachers. Your meaning therfore must nedes be, to bring her into the darke dungion of ignorance, which men of your sort dw vse to call the mother of deuotion & obedience. And this your meaning is opened in these words following. Buy a paire of Beades. &c. What man or woman, that hath any maner glimmering of Christian knowledge, can like of that manner of praying ỹ they doo vse, which pray vpon Beades? First, they perswade thēselues that they pray to our Lady. And so dw you exhorte your mother to dw, for you say. Bie a paire of beades, and pray our blessed Ladie to help you. But can you perswade your selfe, that you pray to our blessed Ladye, when you saye. Our Father

which art in heauen. &c. And hayle Mary full of grace. &c. And I beléeue in GOD the Father. &c? There is not one petition in the Lordes prayer, that may anie way be thought to bee a petition made to that blessed Virgin: except you can imagine that shee is that Father which séeth in secrete, to whom our Sauiour Christe commaunded hys Schollers to pray, when hee taught them howe they shoulde pray, saying: When you pray you shall say. Our Father, which art in Heauen. &c And in that salutation which the Angell Gabriell vsed to the blessed Virgine, there is not one word of petition or prayer, made eyther to her or to any other. And as for the Créede, it is a confession of beléefe, wherein are contayned the speciall Articles of the Christian fayth: but there is not one worde therein that can be, by any meanes wrested, to serue for petition or prayer. Nowe, the order of your praying vpon Beades is thus.

Fyrst you say one *Pater noster*. Then, the *Aue Maria* tenne times, and then one *Pater noster*, and agayne, the *Aue Maria* ten times: and so forth, tyll you haue rehearsed the *Pater noster* fiue times, and the *Aue Maria* fyftie times. And then you rehearse *Credo in Deum Patrem*, once. And this is the order of your praying vpon Beades. And when you haue gone ouer your Beades three times, in this order: then you haue sayd our Ladies Psalter (as you doo terme it) I meruaile ỹ you did not aduise your Mother to forget the Lords Prayer and the Creede, that she hath learned in the Englishe tongue, and learne the *Pater noster*, the *Aue Maria*, and the *Credo in Deum*, in the Latine tongue. For our Englishe Prayers can not agrée with your Italian Beades. Neither is it possible, for that person to be deuout, in that kind of deuotion, that is not so ignorannt, that he vnderstandeth not one word of ỹ prayers that he vseth. I meruayle therefore, that you which doo vnderstand the Latine tongue, can be so blinded, that you can allowe of that manner of praying. I feare me, that you haue so prouoked God to wrathe, by your wylfull Apostacie, that in iustice he hath so blinded your vnderstanding, that you take darknes for light, and ignorannce for knowledge: the deuill for God, and GOD for the deuill. And then is your case most miserable, as sayth the Prophet Esay. *Væ qui dicitis bonum malum & malum bonum. &c.* Esay. 5. Woe is vnto you, or alas for you, that doo say that good is euil, and

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that euyll is good. If thys be your case, I dow not hope, that thys which I nowe dow, or that can be dwne by any other, can helpe any thing at all to drawe you out of your darke dungion of ignorance. But hoping better of you, and that though my labeure coulde not profite you, yet some other may bee profited thereby. I haue thought good to make thys matter as plaine as I can, that the manifest truth, may (if it be possible) preuayle with you, and bring you backe agayne to your former happy estate, wherein you were once, and seemed to be setled therein. If that can not bee, yet I hope this labour of mine may be a meane to stay some such as you were from running headlong after you into that pytte of destruction that you are fallen into.

You teache your mother to craue helpe at the handes of the blessed virgin, that was neuer able to helpe her selfe. Shee her selfe sayth, That her spyrite reioyced in God her Sauiour: and woulde you that your mother shoulde nowe put that blessed virgin (whom God hath saued) in the place of that God that saued her, by crauing that helpe at her handes, which can not be had at the handes of any, but of God himselfe? Your mother had learned (before shee bare you) that it is God that draweth the Infants out of theyr mothers wombe, and that it is he that sustaineth them whylst they hang vpon their mothers dugges. Psalm. 22. And when she trauelled of Chylde, she called vpon him, and not vpon the blessed virgin. And whence came thys calling vppon the blessed Virgin in that case, but from the custome of the Heathen women, which beeing perswaded that the Mone hath a naturall dominion in moyst matters, called vppon her vnder the name of *Iuno lucina*. And when Christians beganne to declyne from that perfection of Christian knowledge that had beene taught by the Apostles, and theyr immediate successors: Christian women thought they should not doo amisse, to put the blessed mother of our Sauiour Christ, in ỹ place of this *Iuno*, and so they fel to calling vpon her, in their peril in the trauayle of Childbyrth. And wyll you bring your mother backe agayne to this superstition?

If you wyll giue any credite to saint Augustine, hee wyll tell you, that the blessed Virgin dooth neyther require nor allow of anie such honour to be giuen vnto her. In his Booke intituled of true Religion, and in the last Chapter thereof, hee wryteth thus.

Non sit nobis Religio cultus hominũ mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, vt tales quærant honores, sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante, lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes. Honorandi ergo sunt propter immitationem: non adorandi propter Religionem. Let vs not haue a Religion (saith S. Austen) of the worshipping of dead men and dead women: For if they liued godly, they be not of that minde, that they woulde seeke to haue such honor at our hands, but their desire is, that we shoulde worship him, by whose illumining they reioyce that we are companions with them, of his merite. They must therefore be honored, by immitation: not worshipped for Religion. If you woulde reade that Booke of S. Augustine, I thinke you woulde forethinke that euer you went about to perswade your mother to make prayers to anie creature. Although the blessed virgine, be amongst creatures most excellent, yet is shee not Deified. She remaineth still a creature. She is still a woman, meete to be honoured by immitation as S. Austen saith, but not to be worshipped for Religion. The honour that we may giue to her, or to anie other holie saint of God, is to followe that good example of life, that they haue left behinde them. Who so will honor her a right, must call to minde, her great humility, her most stedfast and constant fayth, and her integritie of life in all conditions, and endeuour to follow her therein. But to make prayers to her, and to craue helpe at her handes, as you exhorte your mother to do: is to put her in the place of God, by giuing Gods honour to her, and so making an Idole of her. If it be not lawful to beleeue in her, then is it not lawfull to pray to her. For the Apostle saith: *Quomodo inuocabũt in quem non crediderunt.* Howe shall they call vpon him, in whom they haue not beleeued? Rom. 10. The Prophet Dauid, in the Psalme 50. speaking in the personne of GOD, sayeth: Call vppon mee in the day of thy trouble, I wyll deliuer thee, and thou shalt glorifie mee. The same Prophete sayth, Psalme, 145 The Lorde is harde at hande, with euerie one that calleth vppon him: with euerie one that calleth vpon him faithfully. In another Psalme, the same Prophete sayth thus, speaking in the person of GOD. I am the Lorde thy God, which brought thee out of the lande of Egypt: open thy mouth wyde, and I wyll fill it.

By opening the mouth, is there meant, the crauing at Gods

hands

handes by prayer, which the people of GOD are there commanded to vse. Psalme.81. Assuring themselues to receiue at his hands as much as they dow or can aske.

If you would marke well the Psalmes that you vse to sing in your midnight Mattins, you shoulde finde in them many such encouragements to call vppon GOD, but not one worde to encourage you, to call vpon any creature, be the same neuer so excellent or holy. Yea, if you shall reade the whole Scriptures thorow, from the first word in Genesis, to the laste in the Reuelations of Iohn, you shall not finde one worde, that (beeing rightly vnderstanded) may giue you any manner of encouragement, to make Prayers to anie creature, or discourage you to make prayers to God. Yea, you shall not finde any one example in any holy man, that hath fledde from GOD, to seeke helpe at the handes of creatures at anie time.

But you shall finde that Ieremie the Prophete complayneth agaynst them that haue donne so. Ieremie 2. His wordes be these. *Obstupescite cæli super hoc, & portæ eius desolamini vehementer, dicit Dominus. Duo enim mala fecit populus meus. Me dereliquerunt, fontem aquæ viuæ, & foderunt sibi cisternas, cisternas discipatas, quæ continere non valent aquas.* O yee Heauens (sayth the Lord) bee astonished at this thing, & yee Gates thereof be ye greatly abashed. For my people haue committed two euills. They haue forsaken me, which am the Fountaine of lyuing water, and they haue dygged Ceasternes for themselues, Ceasternes that can not holde Water. Heere the Prophet Ieremie dispowneth the people of Iuda for two euills. And hee doth it in the personne of God himselfe.

One of those euils is, the forsaking of him, the Fountayne of liuing water, as you teache your mother to do, when you will her to burne her Bookes, and to leaue the vse of the Englishe Byble. The other euill is, the dygging of Ceasterns, that can not holde any water. This euill you teache your mother to commit, when you wyll her to buy a payre of Beades, and to pray our blessed Ladie to helpe her. Although that blessed virgin bee a most excellent creature, yet she is but a creature, and therefore but a broken Ceasterne in comparison of GOD, which is the Fountaine of lyuing Water.

They therefore that seeke helpe at her hande, doo but dygge a broken Cesterne, for she could neuer helpe her selfe, as before I haue most plainely prooued, much lesse can she helpe them that flee from God, and seeke helpe at her hande. The sentences of Scripture that I haue before cited, doo most manifestly proue, that there is no cause that may giue vs occasion to flee from God, to seeke help at the handes of any other.

He is almighty, able to helpe in euery neede. Hee is mercifull, and readie to helpe in all distresses. He is faithfull, and hath promised to helpe such as call vpon him faythfully. He knoweth our case, and needeth not any Memoransor to put him in minde of our case. He hath a prouident and fatherly care for vs, so that he letteth no occasion slyppe, but taketh euery occasion to doo vs good. And would you wysh your mother, to forsake thys so mighty, so mercifull, so faythfull, and so prouident a father, and to gyue herselfe to the seruice of hys daughter, in whom none of these thinges be, otherwyse then by participation from thys father, in whom the fulnes of all these things remayneth? God forbid. Remember your selfe better (Samuell) and make haste home againe. Tarry no longer in that Dungeon of darknes in *Nigeon*. Take againe that fruition of the light of the Gospell, that once you did enioye in Englande. Shake of those chaynes of ignorannce, wherein sathan hath so bywrapped you: and embrace againe with vs, the fredome of knowledge, which the almighty GOD hath so plentifully bestowed vpon Englande. But let vs consider, that which is next in your exhortation.

Your mother must wyshe in her hart, that she had a Priest to confesse her: and she must doo thys, as often as she can, but especially, when she shall fall sicke, and shall be like to die. And she must purpose stedfastly, to confesse her sinnes and to goe to thryft, if shee could conueniently. Of such Priestes, as you would haue your mother to wyshe for, I haue before written sufficiently. I haue wrytten also enough concerning that confessyon of sinnes that God requireth at the handes of Christians. Your mother knewe before you were borne, and knoweth styll, what sinnes she ought to confesse, and to whome she ought to make her confessyon. She myndeth not to wysh after, to seeke for, or to acquaint herselfe with any such Ghostly Father, as you meane of, although she might, with

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out all bodily danger doo it. She knoweth them to be Traytours, to GOD, to our Prince and Countrey, and to all such simple Christians as doo hearken to them. Her stedfast purpose therefore is, to confesse her sinnes to God euerie day, bothe in sickenes and in health.

She doth continually craue at Gods hande, the grace of continuall and vnfained repentaunce. Of full and frée pardon of all her sinnes (by the mediation of Christ Iesus) she craueth a full and perfect assuraunce. With all popish Priestes, popish shrift, and with all maner of popery, she is, and styll wylbe at defiaunce. But you procéede with your exhortation, and thus you say.

The Fryer. Beleeue without doubting, all that the holy Catholicke Romaine, and Apostolicke Church doth beleeue: although that they surpasse and excell mans vnderstanding. To be briefe, say euery day these wordes. O sweete Iesus, I doo stedfastly beleeue, all that my Sonne Samuell beleeueth. And in that fayth, in which he is, I will liue and die. Be mercifull vnto me, a moste wretched sinner, for thy names sake. Holie Marie mother of GOD pray for me, thyne vnworthy handmayde, nowe, and in the hower of my death. Say thys prayer onely euerie day. And if you can goe to shrift, confesse your sinnes, and receiue the bodie and blood of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ.

Crowley. Your mother hath iust cause to muse what you meane by this part of your exhortation, wherein you will her to beléeue all ý the holy Catholick, Romane, and Apostolick Church doth beléeue. For there is no such Church as that in any part of the world. There is indéede a Romaine Church, but that Church is neither holy, Catholick, nor Apostolick. Holy thee is not, because she renounceth that holines that is frely giuen in Christ, and cleaueth to an holines, that she imagineth to be in her owne workes, wherein no holines at all, either is or can be before God. The case of this Romaine Church, is as euill, or worse then the case of the Church of the Iewes was, when they béeing ignorant of the righteousnes of God, sought to establish their owne righteousnes, and so neyther were, nor could be subiect to the righteousnes of God. Rom. 10 Euen so these Romaines, which you call the Romaine Churche, béeing ignoraunt of that holines that is frely giuen in Christ, and is therefore the holines of GOD, and not of men, doo séeke to sette

vppe and aduaunce their owne holines (which is no holines in-dæde) and so are not, neither can be subiecte to that holines that God giueth in Christ: and so by good consequence, there is in them no holines at all. Catholicke that Romaine Church is not: for that she holdeth not that fayth, which Christ in his owne person taught in Jerusalem, and in other parts of the lande of Jewrie, and at the time of his Ascention into heauen, commaunded his Apostles to teache Catholickly, that is, all the worlde ouer. according to the signification of the worde *Catholicè*. That is Catholickly, or vniuersally. In his owne personne our Sauiour Christ did preache this fayth, as appeareth in the first Chapter of S. Marke. *Postquã autem traditus est Johannes, &c.* After that Iohn was imprisoned, Jesus came into Galile, preaching the Gospell of the kingdome of GOD, and saying. The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God draweth nigh. Repent, and beleeue the Gospell. To beleeue the Gospell, is that fayth which is called Catholicke. And whosoeuer beleeueth the Gospell, is a Catholicke. And on the contrary, he that beleeueth not the Gospell, is no Catholicke. To beleeue the Gospell, is to beleeue Gods worde. For in our olde Englishe speeche, Gods worde was called Gods speale: and nowe (corruptly) we do call it Gospell. This Gospell (or Gods speale) is that promise that GOD made firste to Adam, the firste man: when he promised that the womans sæde shoulde breake the Serpentes heade. Gen. 3. This promise was renued to Abraham, when GOD sayd to him: In thy sæde shall all the Nations of the earth bee blessed. Gen. 22. And this Gospell, is by the Grecians called *Euangelion*, which worde doth (by interpretation) signifie a gladde tydinges. This Glad tydings dyd our Sauiour declare, firste to the lost sheepe of the house of Israell, both in his owne personne, and by the ministerie of his Apostles. And at ỹ time of his ascending into heauen: he gaue commaundement to those Apostles, to declare the same Catholickly, (that is to say, generally) all the worlde ouer. For thus he sayd vnto them then. *Euntes in mundum vniuersum, prædicate Euangelium omni creaturæ.* Goe into all the worlde, and preach the Gospell to euery creature. Understanding by creatures, all Nations and sortes of men. By thys meanes, thys Gospell or Gladde tydinges (which at the first was made knowne but to few,

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in comparison of all) was made knowne to the whole worlde, and was therefore called Catholicke. And when in the primitiue time of the preaching of thys Gospell, certayne fantasticall heades beganne to teache doctrines contrary to thys Catholick doctrine, and to drawe disciples after them: then the Fathers that held & taught thys doctrine, called themselues Catholicks, and those other Schismatickes, and Heretickes.

The first Romysh Christians, were right Catholicks, as appeareth by that Epistle that the Apostle Paule wrote to them, and so the Christians of that Cittie continued many yeres after saynt Paules time, as appeareth in the Histories of the Church. But for the space of a thousande yeres last past (almost) that Church, that hath bene, and is in Rome, hath bene, and is styll, schismaticall: and therefore the name Catholick is no meete name for that Romyshe Church. They denie the free iustification by fayth, which S. Paule taught the first Romysh Christians, and they beleeued hys doctrine. They glory in theyr owne wysedome, ryghteousnes, holines, and redemption: presuming to redeeme theyr owne sinnes, and the sinnes of others also: by theyr fastings, their prayers, theyr whyppings, and other workes that they haue deuised, whereby they thinke (and perswade as many as they can to think) that satisfaction may be made to God, for sinne committed in breaking the commaundements of God: whereas by the Catholicke fayth we are taught, that as there is but one God, so there is but one mediator betwixt God and man, which is the man Christ Iesus 1. Tim. 2. And this Mediator had none other meane whereby hee might worke our reconciliation, but onely the shedding his of own hart bloude for vs. That death which our sinnes had deserued, was (and of necessity must bee) suffered by him ỹ purchased our peace with God.

I conclude therefore, that the Romish Church, taking vpon it (in some sorte) the Office of the Mediatour: is not Catholicke, but Antichristian. And therefore your mother beeing a Catholicke Christian indeede, may not harken to her sonne Samuell, when he willeth her to beleeue all that the holye Catholicke, Romaine, and Apostolicke Church doth beleeue. &c.

And whereas you name the Romaine Churche Apostolicke,

you doo great wrong to that Church which is Apostolick indéede, and so doo yée to the Apostles themselues. For you father vpon them all your hypocrisies and superstitions, all your counterfayt & false Religions, all your Idolatrous abhominations, and all your inordinate and great power and vsurpations: from which the Apostolicke Church, both is, and euer hath béene, as farre seuered, as in distance of place, heauen and earth are seperated. The Apostles, and the Apostolicke Church neither doth at this day, neither any time héeretofore, hath receiued, or maintained wittingly and wyllinglie, any maner of hypocrisies or superstitions. It neyther dooth nor hath embraced willingly and wittingly, anie counterfayte or false Religions. It neuer hath nor doth embrace, vpholde or maintaine, any Idolatrous abhomination. It neuer hath, doth, or wyl delight it selfe in anie inordinate power or vsurpation. The Apostles themselues, did (according to the example of our Sauiour Christ) wyllingly submitte themselues to Princes, and all other Noble estates, as to such as by Gods ordinaunce, haue the supreame authority, ouer the bodies and goods of all men, of all sorts and professions, that liue within those Countryes that of right doo belong to their dominions. Rom. 13. 1. Pet. 2. The Apostolicke Church, neuer tooke vppon her, to depose Kinges, or to dispose of kyngdomes at anie time heretofore, neither presently dooth, nor in time to come will.

The Apostolick Church hath alwayes, dooth styll, and for euer will, embrace, vpholde, mainetaine, teache and preache, that doctrine, which by the appointment of Christ Jesus (to whome all power in heauen and earth dooth belong) the Apostles themselues, dyd whilst they liued vpon earth, embrace, vpholde, maintayne, teach and preach, without any manner of adding to, taking from, or altering or changing, in any manner of respect, so far foorth as Christ Jesus, (whose spouse she is) pleaseth by his holy spyrite to direct her, and to make her able to doo. The Apostolick Churche, dooth not, neither hath nor will, commaunde or counsell men or women, to beléeue all that she beléeueth: before shee hath let them vnderstande what she beléeueth, and so enstructed them, that they may be able to render a reason of that hope that is in them, neyther dooth she wyll them to beléeue any thing that dooth surpasse mans vnderstanding, tyll shee haue made them vnderstand, what

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moueth her to beléeue those thinges. But your Romaine Church, which you call Apostolick, doth, and for these 1000. yeres last past (almoste) hath doone, and still pretendeth to doo, the contrary to all these thinges. I conclude therefore, that shee is not Apostolicke, but Apostatate: and therefore all thynges that shee beléeueth, are to bée suspected, and not to be receiued, till they shalbée throughly tryed, and founde to bée Apostoliche. But now you wyll growe to a conclusion, and thus you say.

The Fryar. To be breefe, Say euery day these wordes. O sweete Iesus, &c.

Crowley. In your conclusion, wherein you are bréefe: you giue me occasion, to be longer then willingly I would. You prescribe your mother an order of protestation and prayer, which shee must vse euery day, if she hope to be accepted amongst the Romish Catholicks.

It beginneth very well, for thus she must say: O swéete Iesus. But in the nert wordes, you teache her to flée from Iesus, and to be at defiaunce with him. For she must say thus: I do stedfastly beléeue all that my sonne Samuell beléeueth. Which is as much as if she shoulde say thus. Farwell swéete Iesus: I wil no longer depende vpon thée. For my swéete sonne Samuell, hath commaunded me to depende vppon hym. I may no longer beléeue as thou hast taught me: but I must, and wyll beléeue all that my sonne Samuell beléeueth. Thou haste taught me to beléeue, that whosoeuer beléeueth and is baptised, shalbe saued. Mar. 16. But my sonne Samuell saith, that except I confesse my sinnes to a Priest, and be by him absolued, and reconciled to the Romysh Catholicke Churche, I shall bee damned both body and soule, and I am sure hée woulde not say it, except hee dyd beléeue it. O swéete Iesus, thou haste called mee, and haste sayde vnto mée amongst other, Come vnto mee all yee that laboure, and be heauy laden, and I wyll refreshe you. Take my yoke vppon you: and learne of mée, for I am méeke and humble of harte, and you shall finde rest vnto your soules: for my yoke is pleasaunt, and my burden is lyghte. Mathew. 11.

But my sonne Samuell beléeueth, that euery man and woman must suffer for theyr owne sinnes: and therefore hee goeth and lyeth woolwarde, hée refrayneth the eating of flesshe, and of

al white meates, he riseth euery night at midnight, he doth scourge himselfe naked often times: yea, he gyueth himselfe 400. stryppes at one time. Yea, fearing to fall into the handes of the liuing God (which is horrible) hée hath forsaken the worlde (as he sayth) and the life of a Scholler, and hath made himselfe a *Minime* Fryer, chosing rather that way to fall into the hands of GOD, then (liuing as his Father and I doe) to fall into the pawes of the deuill. His ghostly father hath tolde him, (and he doth beléeue it) ỳ though thou dost cal him, and offer to take the heauy burden of sinne from him: yet it is necessary that he do penaunce in hys owne person, & by that penaunce he do redéeme his owne soule. And although thou hast bydden him bowe downe hys necke vnder thy yoke, & take thy burden vppon his backe, assuring him that thy yoke is easie, and thy burden light, and that in thus doing he shall finde rest to hys soule: yet if he wyll finde that rest indéede, hee must of necessitye take the yoke and burden of S. Frauncis vppon his necke and shoulders, and doo penaunce all the dayes of hys life, according to the rule of S. Frauncis Order.

O swéete Jesus, beare with me, I must beléeue all this, for my sonne Samuell doth beléeue it, and hath wylled mee to say euery day, that I do beléeue all that hee doth beléeue. O swéete Jesus thou hast sayde, Let such as hath eares to heare, hearken. Matth. 13. And thy holy Apostle Iames hath sayde: Be swyft to heare. Iam. 1. And thine Apostle Paule sayth, that fayth commeth by hearing. Rom. 10: But my sonne Samuell, wylleth me to leaue my early rysing, and goe no more to the Lectures and Sermons of Crowly, Barber, and Fielde, or of any other Protestants, for hee sayth that they are the deuills Ministers, and that the deuill of hell is the foundation of that Religion, that they do teache. And I must beléeue that this is true, if I wyll beléeue all that my sonne Samuell doth beléeue.

But my conscience telleth me (O swéete Jesus) that thou art that Rocke on which Crowley, Barber, Fyelde, and the reste that bée the Protestant Preachers do builde: and I thynke that I doo plainely sée, that they do not builde vppon thée, eyther straw or stubble, but Gold, Syluer, and such other matter, that can not be consumed by the force of the fire of Gods spirit, which

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in hys good time wyll trye, all that men haue builded vpon thée, which art that foundation that all the builders which wyll buylde the Temple of GOD, muſt needes builde vppon, becauſe there is none other foundation to builde vppon. 1. Cor. 3.

O ſwéete Jeſus, thou haſte commaunded mee to ſearche the Scriptures. Ioh. 5. And thy holy Euangeliſt ſaynt Luke reporteth, that in Berrhæa, ſuch as receiued the doctrine of the Goſpell gladly, dyd ſearche the Scriptures daily. Acts. 17. But my ſonne Samuell forbyddeth mée the vſe of the Byble in Engliſh. And hée knoweth that I vnderſtande none other language. Hys meaning therefore muſt needes bée, to forbydde that which thou hath commaunded. O ſwéete Jeſus, ſuffer mée not to be ſeduced by my ſonne Samuels flattering and hypocriticall ſpéeches. Hée teacheth mée, to beſéeche thee to bée mercifull to mée, a moſt wretched ſinner, for thy name ſake. A better leſſon then this, no man can teache.

O ſwéete Lorde Jeſus, doo thou imprint thys leſſon in my harte, that I doo neuer forgette it. And worke thou in my hart by thy holye ſpyrite, that I may haue a ready good will, dayly to vſe it. But alas, he beléeueth that thy bleſſed Mother Mary, is able to helpe ſuch as call vppon her, and therefore, hée teacheth me to pray vnto her to helpe mée: But thou haſt taught me a leſſon contrary to that. When you pray, you ſhall ſay: O our Father which art in heauen, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy wyll be doone in earth, as it is in heauen. &c.

O ſwéete Jeſus, let me neuer forgette that forme of prayer. Gyue mée grace (I beſéeche thee) to vſe it nyght and day, to craue continually, at the handes of thy heauenly Father, which through thee is become my heauenlye Father, all thoſe thyngs that in that forme of Prayer thou haſte taught mee to craue. Let mee not ſo hearken to my Sonne Samuell, as that following hys counſell, I ſhoulde doo contrary to thy commaundements. Bleſſed Lorde Jeſus, I doo knowe that thy bleſſed mother, is a moſt bleſſed creature. But thou, with thy Father and the holye Ghoſte, art her Creator and mine, and the Creator of all creatures. Wée muſt ſay of her, as the Prophette Eſay ſayde of Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob,

Reade all: or reade nothing.

Abraham neuer knewe vs, Israell is ignorannt of our case, but thou art our Father, thou art our deliuerer. Esay. 63.

Thinkest thou (oh thou blynde Fryer John) that thy mother that bare thee, is so blinded with affection towardes thee, that shee wyll turne her backe vppon Christe Jesus to follow thee? Thou teachest her to vse daily a forme of prayer, which in the first wordes is swéeter then honnie, to the taste of a faithfull Christian, but in all the wordes that followe, it is full of most pestilent and deadlye poyson. She wyll none of it therefore. She wyll pray to the heauenly Father, in such sorte as Christ Jesus the sonne of God hath taught her, and not to creatures as thou dost exhort her. Though she coulde, yet she wyll not goe to shryft, to make confessyon of her sinnes to a Priest. Shee knoweth who it is, against whome shée hath sinned. To him alone she wyll confesse all her secrete sinnes. At his handes onely she wyl aske forgiuenes of her sinnes, because she knoweth that he onely is able to forgiue them. And when she shall sinne against men, she wyll confesse those sinnes to those men agaynst whom she shall committe them. Shee will doo all that shée shall bee able to doo, in making satisfaction to them. Shée wyll craue forgiuenes at their handes, and beséeche them to pray to GOD for her, that she may obtaine forgiuenes at hys handes also.

The blessed body and blonde of our Lorde and Sauiour Jesus Christe, shée will receiue, as often as shée may: but not after so blouoy a manner as you imagine that you doo. Shee hath learned to receiue an outwarde Sacrament into her mouth and stomache, and by fayth, to receyue spirituallie into her soule, the thing that is signified by that outwarde Sacrament. Shée knoweth, that if shée dwell in Christe, and haue Christ dwelling in her: shée doth at the Lordes Table, receiue, eate, and drinke, the Lordes bodye and blonde, in the Sacrament exhibited to her, and to the reste of the faithfull. But if shée shoulde intrude herselfe into the companye of Christians, not dwelling in Christ, neyther hauing Christe dwelling in her: she knoweth that though she shoulde receiue the Sacramentall breade, and drinke the Sacramentall wyne neuer so often, yet shée shoulde neither eate the bodye nor drinke the blonde of Christe, but the Sacrament of so excellent a thing, to her owne condemnation. *August. in sermone de Sacramentis fidelium.*

lium. Feria. 2. Paſchæ. Thys is the iudgment of ſaynt Auguſtine in hys Sermon that he made of the Sacraments of the faythfull, the ſeconde day of Eaſter.

And (Fryer John) I muſt aduiſe you to call to remembraunce that dealing of yours, when you preſumed to bée partaker of the Sacrament of the body and bloude of Chriſte, in company wyth your mother, the morrowe after you hadde bëne at ſhryſte, and were (as your ſelfe haue in theſe your Letters confeſſed) reconciled to the Romiſh Catholicke Church. If Chriſte did then dwell in you: vndoubtedly, bothe Chriſt and Antichriſt may dwell together, which is knowne to bée a thing impoſſible. You were reconciled to Antichriſt, therefore hée dwelt in you, and not Chriſt. You preſumed with Iudas, to eate the Lordes breade, againſt ỹ Lord, as Iudas did, when he had before bounde himſelfe by promiſe (for money) to deliuer the Lorde into the handes of the high Prieſtes and Elders of the people.

Euen ſo had you compacted with your new frëndes, and made promiſe to forſake the Proteſtants Religion (as you terme it) and to embrace the Romiſh Catholicke Religion, during the whole time of your tranſitory life. And howe durſt you then thruſt your ſelfe into our Communion the next day after you hadde made thys promiſe to your ghoſtly father, that had bëne the meane and inſtrument of your reconciliation: and ſo diſſemble both wyth your newe and your olde frëndes, as a Newter, or Jacke on both ſides: But it may be that your ghoſtly Father had ſome large Commiſſion from the holy father of Rome, to diſſpence in ſuch caſes: For ſuch doo account our Sacrament, to bée but a pëce of breade, and a cuppe of wyne, and that therefore, there is no danger in the receiuing of it in ſuch manner as you did then receiue it. But that diſpenſation can not helpe you: for it was *Panis Domini*, the Lords breade, as well to you, as that other was to Iudas. And you receiued it *Contra Dominum.* againſt the Lord, as Iudas did, euen to your owne condemnation, becauſe you made no difference of the Lordes body. To your mother (and to other, the faithfull that dyd at that time receiue that Sacrament) it was *Panis Dominus.* The breade which is the Lorde, and it did nouriſhe them to euerlaſting life, although it were to you a condemnation.

But haſting to an ende of your exhortation, and ſo of the whole

matter, you thought méete to impart to your mother in these your Letters: you say thus, as followeth.

The Fryar. If you be persecuted, reioyce with S. Paule in your persecutions: remembring that sentence which our Lorde hath spoken, saying: VVhosoeuer wyll come after me, let hym deny himselfe, let him take vp hys Crosse and follow me. Saint Paule sayth, that the Passions and tribulations of thys world, are not worthy of that glory, which GOD wyll gyue vs. Thus I commend you to God. From our Fryery at *Nigeon*, a myle from *Paris*, the seauenteene day of *M*arche. 1586. Your sonne, carefull for your soules health: Fryer Iohn Frauncis. And then you write thus in the margine. I haue changed my name. I am no more called Samuell Debnam: but Fryer Iohn Frauncis. If you sende any Letter to mee, wryte on the backe of it. *A frere Jehan Francoys Minime a Nigeon aupres de Paris, ces Lettres soyent donnees.*

Crowley. To comfort your Mother against persecution, you put her in minde of the wordes of our Sauiour Christ, in the ninth Chapter of Luke. And of the wordes of S. Paule in the *8.* to the Romaines. I hope shée wyll remember these sentences, when you shall come into Englande (as you say your hope is shortly to dw) and shall there sette vp that Order of *Bone homes*, which you haue professed, and bée an Inquisitor there: that shee may stande constantlie to the profession of that auncient, Catholike, and Apostolick fayth, which shée hath by hearing learned, and by the assystaunce of Gods spirite professed and practized, before, and euer since she bare you: a babe of whom shée hoped to haue had such ioy as naturall Parents doo naturally hope to haue in their naturall Children. But nowe that you are degenerated, and become an Apostata, forsaking that right Religion, wherein you were baptized and Catechized: shée hath iust cause to wysh, that she had neuer nourished you with the milke of her breasts (if the Lords will hadde bene so) but rather that her wombe hadde bene your graue. It is true as you say, that whosoeuer will come after Christ, must take vppe theyr Crosse and followe him. It is true also, that the passyons and tribulations of thys worlde, are not woorthye of that glory which GOD wyll giue vnto vs. But sir, if your mother should hearken to you, and by going to shrift and hearing of

masses

masses, and professing of Popery, pull such a Crosse vpon herselfe, as they do beare, which willingly and wittingly do put thēselues into the danger of ẏ iust Lawes of our Country: she should beare a heauy Crosse indeede, but not after Christ. For not Christ, but Antichrist calleth men and women, from their due allegiaunce to Princes, and dispenseth with thē for their lawfull othes of faythfull obedience, which they haue taken to be true to theyr princes. The passyons & tribulations that your Seminary men, and such as follow them do suffer, are not persecutions, but iust executions, euen such as GOD commaunded to be executed vpon false Prophets and Idolators. *Deu.* 13.

If you may haue your wished hope, I doubt not but you wyll put both your Father and mother, and all others that haue bene your fosterers, to their tryall: for yeeare become an hungry whelpe of that bloudie Butchers curre, that ruleth in Rome, and thyrsteth after the bloude of the English Nation. But that God, that hath the hartes of all Princes in his hande, wil (I hope) worke so in the hart of that Noble Prince that nowe raygneth, in that noble Realme of Fraunce, or in the hart of some of hys successors, that all the Romysh rabble, shall by them be rowsed out of theyr dennes, as in the dayes of our noble King Henry the eight, they that then were in England were rowsed. And then that hope of yours will be at an ende.

But sir, what meane you by thys, that you say that God wyll gyue vs that glorie, whereof the passions and tribulations that wee suffer heere are not worthy. Howe standeth this, with that which you haue written before, by occasion of the wordes of our Sauiour, in the xxv. of S. Mathewe, where you say that the feeding of the hungry. &c. are the cause of that ioyfull sentence. Come ye blessed of my Father. &c. For there you say, that thys glorye is due to those and such like workes, and nowe you affyrme that it is Gods gyft. God wyll giue it, say you. *Mendacem memorem esse oportet.* A lyer must not bee forgetfull. You lyed before, but now you affyrme the trueth.

For that glorye which you speake of, is indeede the free gyfte of GOD, through Iesus Christe our LORDE: and canne not bee deserued either by our working, or by our suffering.

And that was the meaning of the Apostle. Our workes, though they be neuer so many, neuer so good, neuer so orderly done: yet can they not be worthy of that glory. Our passyons and tribulations, although they be neuer so greate, neuer so vndeserued, yet they can not bee woorthy of that glory, which GOD hath prepared for them that loue him.

And thus you commende your Parents to GOD, in as courteous manner as you saluted them at the firste. That is, euen as though they had beene some of your companions and not your Parents. Such is the Arrogancy of Fryer Iohn Frauncis. But yet hee is the sonne of those (ouermeane) Parents, and careful for their soules health. It were well, if you had a care for your owne soules health, which you can not haue, so long as you haue no care to doo any duety, either to your naturall Parents, or to your native Country, or to any others, to whom you doo owe duety, both by the Lawe of GOD and of nature.

You haue renounced that obedience that GOD hath commaunded all naturall Children and Subiects to shewe towardes theyr naturall Parents and Princes: and you haue chosen a new obedience, and vowed to obserue that. Your Pryor and your Subpriors in the *Minimes* Religion must be obeyed. The holye Father the Pope, must haue his commaundements obserued. You may not doo that which GOD commaundeth to bee done, except the same be commaunded by your holy Father the Pope, the Pryor, and your Subpriors. If the Popes holines, your father Pryor, and your Subpriors commande any thing: that you may, and must doo, and you may not moue any question at all, whether God haue not commaunded the contrary. Yea though you know that GOD hath forbidden the doing of it: yet you must needes doo it, for you haue vowed obedience. &c. You know that GOD hath forbidden the worshypping of Images, and all vse of Imagry in the exercise of Religion. EXO. 20. And yet you must needes haue them and worshipp them, because they to whome you haue vowed obedience, doo commaund it. Christ hath sayd, *Patrem nolite vocare vobis super terram: vnus est enim Pater vester qui in cœlis est.* Call no man your Father vpon earth, for one is your Father which is in heauen. *Mat.* 23. But you must haue a most holy father, which is the Popes holines. And he must bee called *Papa*. That is *Pa-*

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ter patrum. Father of Fathers. If your eyes bée not altogether blinded, your eares stopped, your vnderstanding doubled, and your hart hardened: you can not but sée, perceiue and vnderstand into what miserable case you haue brought your selfe. Repent therefore betime, receaue againe your first name, leaue Fryer John Frauncis in *Nigeon*. Let Samuell Debnã come ouer into England againe. John and Catherine wyll embrace their Prodigall and lost sonne. All theyr and your frendes wyll reioyce together with them, when they shall sée Samuell Debnam (that was lost) founde and brought home agayne. Your fall hath caused greate greefe, your rysing agayne shall cause greater ioy. The meanest seruaunt in your Fathers house, is in better case, then the happyest amongst your superiors in *Nigeon*. You thinke your selfe to bée in the way of saluation, but in very déede, the ende of your way is destruction. Come vnto Christ that calleth. Math. 11. Open vnto Christ that knocketh. *Apoc.* 3. Forsake the whore of Babilon. Defie Antichriste, and his whole Religion. From London, the first of August. 1586.

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Your instructer, euery *way, carefull for your soule health.* Robert Crowley.

Faultes escaped.

FOlio. 3. B. line. 13. Reade to bée the right Religion.
Fol. 6. A. line. 11. Reade Papistes.
Fol. 7. B. line. 16. Reade after.
Fol. 22. A. line 4. Reade, did bidde. B. line 2, μετάνοιαν.
Fol. 23. A. line 19. Reade μετάνοιαν.
Fol. 23. B. line. 33. Reade μετανοῆσαι.
Fol. 24. B. line. 2. Reade, and had chosen to walke in.
Fol. 32. A. line. 11. Reade. Gorgias.
Fol. 34. A line 12. Reade. *dilectionem.*
Fol. 52. B. line. 9. Reade. haue her to confesse.
Fol. 55. A. line. 11. Reade. Arrogating.